



Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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4 June 1993

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Azeris, Armenians Accept Mediation Initiative

LD0106201193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1934
GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations June 1 TASS—Azerbaijan and Armenia have officially informed the United Nations Security Council of their agreement with the mediating initiative of Russia, the United States and Turkey on Nagorno-Karabakh.

Letters to the effect of Azeri Permanent Representative to the United Nations Gasan Gasanov and Armenian Permanent Representative to the United Nations Aleksandr Arzumanyan were circulated today at the U.N. headquarters as official documents of the U.N. Security Council.

"On May 26 the Azeri side handed in to the Russian, U.S. and Turkish embassies in Baku a document with the name 'Schedule of Emergency Measures' signed by the Azeri prime minister and the minister of defence to prove its agreement with the mediating initiative of the above-mentioned states aimed to implement Security Council resolution 822 (1993) and resume negotiations within the framework of peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azeri conflict," says a letter of the Azeri permanent representative to the U.N.

"The Armenian government expresses agreement with the initiative put forward by the CSCE Minsk Group chairman, the Russian Federation, the United States and Turkey on May 18. Armenia takes an obligation to completely fulfill the part of the initiative concerning Armenia," says a document submitted by the Republic of Armenia.

Ter-Petrosyan Confirms Agreement

LD0206195093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1916
GMT 2 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations June 2 TASS—Armenia has circulated a statement by the Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan in the U.N. headquarters on Wednesday [2 June] as a document of the U.N. Security Council. The statement said that Armenia had agreed to a mediating initiative suggested by Russia, the United States and Turkey on Nagorno-Karabakh in the hope that these countries, alongside Armenia, will act as a guarantor of the safety of the population of the region.

The statement said that the initiative "offers the first serious opportunity to ensure peace in the region, which in its turn, will make it possible to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict by means of peace talks."

It was pointed out that the initiative "gives certain grounds for concern about the guarantees of the safety and rights of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh. Armenia

is not fully convinced that Azerbaijan has given up its policy of resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict by military means."

The Armenian president said that "Armenia believes it should take additional responsibility for the safety of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, i.e. it should act as a guarantor of strictly observing previously reached agreements. In this connection, Armenia declares that it will not put up with any violations of these agreements and expects the initiators of the mediatory mission and the international community to adopt corresponding commitments."

Minister Yerin Interviewed on Drug Trafficking

PM0406111593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Mikhail Ilinskiy: "Viktor Yerin: Common Data Bank Essential for Fighting Mafia"]

[Text] Rome—The international conference "European routes for the illegal shipment of drugs" has ended its work in Rome after discussing questions of the struggle against organized crime and the coordination of actions of various countries' law enforcement organs. Taking part in the meeting were representatives of 41 states including 15 former Soviet republics. Russia was represented by a delegation headed by Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin.

"In Russia," the minister said in a talk with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, "the problem of the struggle against illegal drugs trafficking is being aggravated with every passing year. Until recently the international crime syndicates did not view Russia as a sphere for the active investment of capital. The situation has now changed."

"Right now the illegal trafficking in drugs in Russia is 50-60 billion rubles a year (in 1992 prices). Russia's territory is being used increasingly widely for the illegal transit of drugs from the countries of Southeast and Southwest Asia."

"Last year 30 percent of drugs on our country's territory were of 'non-Russian origin.' In the first quarter of 1993 that figure increased to 35 percent and is tending to increase further. In Moscow it already reaches 90 percent."

"To coordinate the actions of various countries' internal affairs ministries we need a common data bank and the exchange of information. Russia's law enforcement and customs organs in collaboration with foreign services use the 'controlled supply' method. In March this year together with the Italians an operation was carried out on the Bogota-Havana-Moscow-Rome route. Over 5 kilograms of cocaine were confiscated."

[Ilinskiy] In recent years in the West and especially in Italy there have been many items published about illegal

deliveries of radioactive substances, isotopes and so forth from Russia. How would you comment on those reports?

[Yerin] I have no facts of, for instance, weapons-grade plutonium going abroad. The guarding of nuclear centers is reliably ensured by the internal troops and security forces. These centers have not recorded a single act of terrorism, theft, or embezzlement.

Russia Participates in Conversion-93 Exhibition

PM0406084593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 31 May 93

[Video report by A. Gurnov and Ye. Sveshnikov from Birmingham; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Gurnov] If you want to buy a military secret, go to Birmingham, the British newspaper SUNDAY MAIL advises.

The British cosmonaut Helen Sharman opened the Russian Conversion-93 exhibition at the National Exhibition Center here. More than 1,000 articles, projects, and technologies are on display. Their development swallowed countless Soviet rubles which Russia is now trying to convert into dollars. Here you see a guidance instrument which has been turned into a laser scalpel. They are prepared to sell it for \$20,000. But as they have no publicity and marketing experience, they will have to share their profits with Western middlemen. There are bullet-proof vests, the world's biggest hologram, and accident-rescue complexes. Tupolev designers are offering pleasure-boats. And the missile plant stand is displaying pressing irons.

On the eve of the exhibition, the local press promised that scientists will be on sale alongside the equipment. However, the deputy chairman of the Committee for the Defense Industry reassured us.

[Unnamed deputy] We do not sell scientists, we keep them in Russia.

However, even without live goods, the local journalists have dubbed the Russian exhibition the "clearance sale of the century." I think they are exaggerating. This title could be used more appropriately to describe our economy as a whole. But as the British press has already reported that Russia has cut appropriations for defense by almost 70 percent, it is not at all clear what the next generation of our businessmen will be trading in.

International Cooperation Conference Opens in Anapa

LD0206175793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1548 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Zhilyakov]

[Text] Anapa (Krasnodar region) 2 June TASS—A conference "South of Russia: prospects for the development

of cooperation in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean region" has opened in the city of Anapa in the Krasnodar region today.

A senior official of the Russian Foreign Ministry and Chairman of the Russian Foreign Policy Foundation, Enand Agayev, said that the conference should make its contribution to the development of new forms of cooperation between the countries of the region.

However, Agayev told ITAR-TASS that a legal infrastructure should be created to enable Russian and foreign enterprises to operate normally. He said that not so long ago, the development of the Russian South was guided by the rules of military competition. "And only now there is a chance to render an entirely new meaning to the idea of security, which will be based on business cooperation not only between the territories of the Black and the Mediterranean Sea, but between enterprises situated in these regions as well," Agayev said.

The aim of the conference is to draw attention of Russian and foreign businessmen to problems of the Russian South and demonstrate the potential for mutually advantageous cooperation between Russian regions and foreign countries. The conference is being held on the eve of a meeting of foreign ministers of countries participating in the Black Sea economic cooperation, which is scheduled in Istanbul in the middle of June.

Commenting on the development of cooperation between Russia and Cyprus, Cypriot President Georgios Vassiliou said that the delegation of his country had arrived at the conference with the aim of promoting the progress of economic reforms in Russia. The Cypriot president said that economic cooperation should be stepped up and joint activities of Russian and foreign enterprises should be encouraged as much as possible.

Vassiliou said that not only Russian people, but people from Europe and all over the world are concerned about the economic recovery and the success of reforms in Russia. In his opinion, world political leaders should realise that a delay in aid to Russia and suggesting unacceptable terms for granting credits is an extremely dangerous game. The future of the world and European economy is closely connected with the future of the Russian economy, Vassiliou said.

Forum on World Experience and Russia's Economy Previewed

PM0306082793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Kuznetsov report: "Reform from the Standpoint of World Experience"]

[Text] The Third International "World Experience and Russia's Economy" Forum opened in the State Kremlin Palace in Moscow 25 May. It runs till 29 May and will also be held in the country's major scientific and industrial centers. Representatives of business circles will be

coming from all over Russia, our nearest neighbors, and more than 40 other states to take part in it—major industrial enterprises, small businesses, academics, economists...in short, all comers. And there are several thousand of them. This despite the fact that attending the forum will cost 100,000 ruble per person.

The aim of this congress, as was noted during the opening ceremony, is to give people the most complete information about the progress of reform—including those who directly influence the development of economic processes. Such get-togethers, of course, also involve meeting other people and, consequently, new contacts.

In the three years that the forum has existed the basic avenues of its activity have already emerged. At the current forum these will be examined at seven congresses and seven symposiums. In particular, they concern the problem of the priority given to privatization, the reform of the financial system, conversion, the protection of consumer rights, social policy, administration, and the construction complex.

The forum will result in the elaboration of a package of proposals which will later be submitted to various ministries and departments, as well as to the president, parliament, and the Russian Government. These should be the practical result which will influence the course of reform in the future. That, at least, was the result of the previous forum, which "had a powerful social effect"—as Organizing Committee Chairman Anatoliy Milyukov stated in his introductory speech. We would like to believe that the current congress will have more and more substantive results in Russia's economic and social development.

Russian Labor Minister Addresses ILO Conference

LD0306223393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1212 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Geneva, June 4 (TASS)—There were no illusions in Russia that the former Soviet Union could be reformed easily. However, the actual by-effects, primarily in social welfare, turned out to be much greater than could be originally expected, Russian Labour Minister Gennadiy Melikyan told the current 80th session of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) general conference here on Thursday [3 June].

The subject of social protection and social insurance, brought up for discussion at the session, is highly topical for Russia where the population's real incomes considerably declined of late, the Russian minister emphasised.

This problem acquires special importance in view of the beginning large-scale economic restructuring and

defence industry conversion. An increase in unemployment and the bankruptcy of ineffectual enterprises will hardly be avoided in the process, Melikyan said.

Last year saw no such things because the state widely supported the enterprises. However, a high rate of inflation and a slowdown in restructuring were the price for that, he added. "Now we increasingly incline to the view that a well-thought out approach and a sense of measure are essential in deciding on support for such enterprises. In the process, the scope of unemployment should be viewed as one of substantial factors determining the extent of the strictness of credit-lending and monetary policy", Melikyan said.

The Russian representative voiced hope for further development of cooperation between Russia and the ILO. "With a view to improving cooperation, we suggested an integrated approach envisaging the coordination of all projects on the part of the ILO and the Russian Labour Ministry. We hope that, considering the limited nature of resources of both the ILO and the Russian Government, this will make it possible to focus efforts on priority problems of the social development of the Russian Federation," the minister pointed out.

Technical Innovation Conference Opens in Moscow

LD0206180093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1606 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By BUSINESS-TASS]

[Text] Moscow June 2 TASS—A conference on "Innovation, technologies and cooperation between minor and medium-sized enterprises of Russia and the European Community" opened at the International Centre of Scientific and Technical Information in Moscow on Wednesday [2 June].

The conference was organised on the initiative of the Russian Association for Support of Minor Innovation Enterprises, Technological Centres and Technical Policies and the Italian consortium "Roma Research", with the assistance of the Russian Ministry of Science and Technical Policies.

The conference is being attended by representatives of Russian business circles and research centres, top experts of the EC Commission and foreign bank corporations. The agenda includes the discussion of international cooperation and issues of economic development of medium-sized and minor enterprises and the role played by technologies in the privatisation of the industrial sphere.

Boris Saltykov, minister for science and technical policy, made a speech, greeting the participants in the conference.

Congress on Copyright Law, Intellectual Property Begins

WS0306134193 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1034 GMT 3 Jun 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 258]

[Text] 03 June 1993—Today the conference on the subject "Intellectual Property Security" began in Vilnius. It was convened by the United Nations World

Intellectual Security Organization, the Lithuanian culture and Education Ministry and the Lithuanian Copyright Defense Association. Copyright specialists from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia take part in it. Experts from Denmark, Sweden, Finland read lectures for them.

The Lithuanian Copyright Defense Association was the first from the Baltic countries to be accepted to the International Confederation (1910). However Lithuania has no copyright law yet. Such law are already adopted in Latvia and Estonia.

Baltic States' Council Held in Jurmala

Requests Associate Membership in EC

*LD0206175193 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1700 GMT 2 Jun 93*

[Text] Today in Jurmala, the session of the Baltic States' Council continued, discussing the joint declaration by leaders and heads of state of the Baltic countries in connection with the meeting at the highest level of European Community countries in Copenhagen due on 21-22 June.

It is written into the declaration to request the European Community in the near future, possibly even this year, to start talks about the acceptance of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania into the European Community with associate member status. This document has just been signed. It was signed by Estonian President Lennart Meri, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, and Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas.

Also taking part in the Baltic States' Council was Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia.

Agrees on 'Full Integration'

*WS0306133993 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in
English 1034 GMT 3 Jun 93*

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 258—"Baltic States Council: To the Heads of State and Governments of the Member-States of the European Communities"]

[Text] 03 June 1993—We, the heads of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, having met at an extraordinary meeting of the Baltic States Council in Jurmala, Latvia, have agreed on the following:

We reaffirm our commitment to a full integration of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into the economic, security and structures of Europe. Agreements on Trade and Commercial and Economic Cooperation, as well as the Declaration on the Political Dialogue between Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and the European Communities have allowed successful relationships between the Baltic States and the European Communities to develop.

We agree that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have reached the "point of no return" concerning the re-establishment of democracy and transition to the market economy.

We consider that the proposals for the enlargement of the European Communities adopted by the Edinburgh summit form the basis for further integration of our countries in Europe.

We thus call on the heads of state and Governments of the European Communities to commit to beginning negotiations on Europe Agreements with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania before the end of 1993. We welcome the

inclusion of this item on the agenda of the forthcoming Summit of the European Communities in Copenhagen, June 21-22, 1993.

President of the Republic of Estonia Lennart MERI

Chairman of the Council of the Republic of Latvia Anatolijs GORBUNOVs

President of the Republic of Lithuania Algirdas BRAZAUSKAS

Signed in Jurmala, Latvia, June 2, 1993.

Karaganda Conference Aims at 'Economic Commonwealth'

*PM0306133793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jun
93 First Edition p 2*

[Oleg Stefashin report: "CIS Industrialists Have a New Coordinating Organ"]

[Text] Karaganda—A meeting of heads of government and plenipotentiary representatives of the governments of CIS countries convened on the initiative of Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev ended in Karaganda with the creation of an intergovernmental council for industry and also an interstate joint-stock company and corporation.

The participants in the conference, which was attended by delegations from 10 states—Russia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan—noted that the reason for holding it was the disintegrating processes that have become more marked of late and which are bleeding the sovereign states' economies dry as well as giving rise to additional difficulties in their mutual relations. Attempts to establish an economic commonwealth on a fundamentally new basis have certainly been made before, but these have not led to the desired result. In the opinion of Kazakhstan President N. Nazarbayev, who spoke at the conference, this is primarily due to the lack of fully functioning CIS coordinating organs, and also to the lack of proven mechanisms for implementing the reforms that have been adopted and effectively monitoring their execution.

It is intended that the establishment of the intergovernmental council for industry will go some way toward finding a solution to this problem.

The conference also saw the adoption of a decision to establish the "Karatau" interstate joint-stock company and an interstate coal and steel corporation and the signing of agreements on basic principles governing cooperation in the military-industrial complex and machine building.

Nazarbayev Initiative Leads to Industry Council*PM0306142593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 2*

[V. Komarov report: "It Is Absolutely Impossible To Live in This World Without a Plan! An Intergovernmental Industrial Council Has Been Formed Under Nursultan Nazarbayev's Leadership"]

[Text] Karaganda—"A group of three men created the CIS, and a fourth man strengthens it." This is how participants of the conference of the industrial ministers of 12 Commonwealth and Transcaucasian states which took place in Karaganda expressed themselves on more than one occasion on the subject of President N. Nazarbayev. After all, it was at the initiative of the Kazakhstani leader that the economic generals of almost all of the former USSR met again around the same table to work.

I must say from the outset that the expected arrival of partners from the East European countries and the Baltic republics did not materialize. The most representative were, understandably, working groups from Kazakhstan and Russia. Sergey Tereshchenko, the Kazakhstani premier, led the first and Oleg Soskovets, who has recently been appointed Russian Federation first deputy prime minister, led the second. Without doubt, N. Nazarbayev's participation in the conference's work gave it a particular authority, and he not only made a 30-minute report at the beginning of the meeting but also held an impromptu press conference on its results at the end.

The delegations concluded a whole series of agreements: on forming interstate companies and corporations for coal and steel, on relations in the military-industrial complex, and on cooperation in machine building. In order that these latest "pieces of paper" may begin to take effect, representatives of the independent states' governments came to an agreement about the most important thing: the establishment of an intergovernmental industrial council—a working coordinating organ which is in a certain way reminiscent of the State Planning Committee and will, in the near future, determine for each participating state what and how much it should produce, who to supply, and at what price.

All of this, as was pointed out on several occasions at the conference, will, objectively speaking, help our countries to lay the foundations for a common Economic Union, about which the independent states' heads agreed in Moscow in the middle of May. All the more so as Karaganda is by no means the first such example. In addition there has been Surgut where oil industry workers from the whole of the former USSR united and Akmola where agrarian specialists created their own intergovernmental council.

"If the highly placed politicians," N. Nazarbayev said at the meeting, "are not always able to resolve disputes between themselves, then the industrialists and entrepreneurs do this beautifully."

It is necessary to point out that the Kazakhstani side has recently been particularly active in bringing together these good neighbors and partners of yesterday. It is profitable for Kazakhstan, whose economy has a clearly defined orientation toward raw materials, to maintain existing ties and to develop them further. But it, of course, has its own interests about which much was also said.

If there is no demand for Kazakhstan's grain from the CIS partners, we will cut our sowings drastically. If we do not come to an agreement on arms, we will begin to trade with foreign countries ourselves. And if we do not receive Siberian oil through the pipeline, we will divert our own Tengiz oil to our own refineries... Only, who needs this!

Nazarbayev neither refuted nor confirmed the persistent rumors about Kazakhstan introducing its own currency: He said that this is a question which is being posed and which should be allowed to be posed.

It is possible that behind all this special activity which Kazakhstan displayed at the conference, it is possible to discern a certain urge together with the other republics to bring pressure to bear on an inert and often egoistic Russia, to open up—if only a little—the sector of its interests from the West to the South.

In this way N. Nazarbayev is pinning more hopes on "his own" man in the Russian Government—Oleg Soskovets—with whom he worked more than a year at the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine.

Conference Views Dual-Purpose Technologies, Restrictions*LD0306121193 Moscow Russian Television Network in
Russian 1000 GMT 3 Jun 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] CIS countries signed an accord in Minsk on 26 June 1992 on controlling raw materials, components, equipment, technologies, and services which could be used to develop weapons of mass destruction. A CIS conference on the nonproliferation of dual-purpose technologies opened at the Russian Foreign Ministry today.

[Correspondent A. Filippov] Delegations from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Armenia have gathered to develop a joint system for monitoring the export of such technologies. For the time being, because of Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] bans, Commonwealth countries are losing millions. They cannot launch satellites for Western customers or purchase the latest computers, medicines, vaccines, chemicals, or technologies to produce them because these products are on international restriction lists. The Commonwealth borders are transparent, and Western partners cannot be sure that these products will not be resold to potential aggressors or terrorists.

To prevent this, Russia has drawn up national lists of restrictions which will be handed to former Union republics at the conference so that they can develop their own systems of export controls.

This will help the CIS to integrate into the world community. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Grigoriy Berdennikov said in an interview with a "Vesti" correspondent that the nonproliferation of dual-purpose technologies is very important since we all are interested in keeping peace. [video shows conference; shot of a page with the heading "List of equipment, materials and technologies used for developing missiles which can be exported under license and supervision" which describes itemized missile systems with a range of 300 km and over; interview with Berdennikov]

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 4 Jun

LD0406061693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0517
GMT 4 Jun 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 4 ITAR-TASS—Newspapers focus their attention today on the domestic problems of Russia. They carry reports about the situation in the hotbeds of tension on the territory of the former USSR, comment on the current developments and publish analytical articles.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an exclusive interview with Tatyana Regent, head of the federal migration service, which deals with the problem of migration from the CIS member states and some developing countries. She expressed anxiety over the growing flow of refugees and said it might further increase. "It is quite probable that Russia will have to give shelter to six million of refugees from former USSR republics in the forthcoming several years," Regent said.

According to Regent, a migration programme has been submitted for the consideration of the government, which analyses three ways of a possible development of the situation. The first one envisages the minimum immigration of 800,000 people, the second one envisages the medium level of immigration—between two and three million people, and according to the third one, Russia should expect the inflow of four to six million people. The federal migration service, created only a year ago, cannot cope alone with the problem of finding accommodation for all those immigrants and providing training for them. Regent also expressed profound concern over the growing number of so-called transit refugees from Third-World countries. There are 150,000 of them in Moscow and the Moscow region alone.

"It has always been the national idea that made Russia strong," Andrey Sakharov, Dr.Sc. (History) and corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, said in an interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. "Anyone who happened to become the leader of this country, be it Ivan IV, Peter I, Nicolas II, Lenin, Stalin

or Khrushchev, were compelled to resolve the problems that Russia has always faced, namely, to preserve and restore what existed some time ago and what seeks to be united again. This has nothing to do with politics, with the whims of communists, liberals or democrats. This is the law of history."

Forecasting possible developments after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Sakharov comes up with the idea that in several decades a large and strong country will again be formed on the territory of the former USSR. He believes that "long separatist processes, some artificial barriers, small enclaves of states standing in opposition to each other just cannot exist on this vast flat territory".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an article which comments on the completion of another round of Russian-Latvian talks and the resolution of the Latvian parliament of June 1, which recognises as null and void since the date of signing the Russian-Latvian agreement "on the use of those enterprises on the territory of the Latvian Republic, which are controlled by the Russian Armed Forces", "Mutually advantageous economic and other relations between Russia and Latvia meet the interests of broad sections of the population in both countries," the newspaper points out. "The refusal to sign the already prepared agreement, which is of much importance for the two countries, plays into the hands of those who oppose the improvement of Latvian-Russian relations."

"Chernobyl is the common misfortune and common tragedy of humanity. We all should draw lessons from it," TRUD writes, quoting the statement of the French physicist Belbeoque and the Russian lady journalist Alla Yaroshinskaya, which they made in Geneva during the presentation of their book about the Chernobyl catastrophe. The newspaper reports the creation of the Yaroshinskaya Foundation, whose purpose will be to help Russians living in the zone of radioactive contamination. The money received by Yaroshinskaya as a result of awarding the alternative noble prize to her last year will make up the bulk of the foundation.

PRAVDA publishes an article by Igor Shafarevich, in which he tries to analyse the results of the recent referendum. In his opinion, as a result of the referendum society has been split into three almost equal groups—those who have been disillusioned with a possibility to reach their objectives by voting, those who supported the president and those who supported the opposition.

He believes it would be untimely to adopt a new constitution in this situation and suggests that "we should wait for the time when people are more unanimous in their opinion. Meanwhile we should concentrate on fulfilling a very difficult task of overcoming the economic crisis."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA believes that the constituent conference, which opens in Moscow on Saturday, "will not produce any sensations or anything which could be described by opponents of the president as a

'coup attempt'". Quoting the sources which are close to the president, the newspaper writes that "the attacking energy of Yeltsin's opponents is on the decline, and the convocation of their conference is probably the last step of their post-referendum offensive, taken by their own momentum."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries the presidential decree on appointing Army General Konstantin Kobets to the post of chief military inspector and deputy defence minister. General Kobets, 53, was chairman of the Russian State Committee for Defence and Security in 1991-1992 and held other responsible posts. He has the degrees of professor and Dr. Sc. (military sciences).

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA publishes an exclusive interview with Russian First Deputy Defence Minister Andrey Kokoshin, which deals with Russia's military doctrine. In his opinion, one of the main provisions of the doctrine is that "in the current situation this country has no potential enemies, and Russia treats most of the states as real potential partners". Kokoshin, 48, is a

civilian. He has held the post of first deputy defence minister for over a year. He is a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the author of the papers "Nuclear Weapons and Strategic Stability" and "Space Weapons: Dilemmas of Security", which are well known both in this country and abroad.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries a list of 100 leading politicians for May. It was made up by the vp public opinion service and the newspaper itself. President Yeltsin and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin top the list. The newspaper points out that Khasbulatov and Rutskoy went down on the list, while Mikhail Gorbachev and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the Russian writer living in the United States, left the "100 Club" altogether.

The ARGUMENTY I FAKTY weekly publishes the data of the all-Russian public opinion centre on the living standards of the country's population. They show that last March the per capita income ensuring "normal life" in Russia was 40,000 roubles. Only 10 per cent of families had an income like that.

Fedorov, Bentsen View Prospects for CIS Monetary Fund

LD0406091393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0826
GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov and U.S. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen who held consultations here on Friday [4 June], recognised that a proposal to set up a monetary fund for the Commonwealth of Independent States is "an interesting and promising" idea, but it needs additional examination.

The sides also discussed bilateral economic relations as well as contacts between Russia and international financial organisations.

The ministers decided that the idea of establishing the fund should be submitted to the G-7 meeting in Tokyo.

Fedorov also informed the treasury secretary of the economic situation in Russia and a joint statement by the government and the Central Bank (signed ten days ago) which is aimed at achieving financial stabilisation in the country.

Bentsen, describing positively the document, pointed to the importance of its strict implementation.

Saying that struggle is now in progress in the country to adopt a new constitution, Fedorov stressed that financial stabilisation and slower inflation are necessary to achieve political stability in Russia.

The sides also discussed the implementation of understandings reached by the Russian and U.S. Presidents in Vancouver. They provide for U.S. aid to Russia.

Bentsen noted that the United States would do its best to fulfil its obligations.

Constitutional Court Chief Meets U.S. Ambassador

LD0306224293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1813
GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—Russian Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin today met U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering at his request.

Zorkin's press officer Sergey Obukhov told ITAR-TASS that the conversation centered around the constitutional process in Russia.

"The constitutional assembly can become a nation-wide roundtable and we must not let the chance slip," Zorkin said.

He said the discussion of the new constitution can be a convenient way of bringing all political forces to the negotiating table.

The ambassador of the United States to Russia said that the American President, Congress and Supreme Court were very much interested in the development of the democratic process in Russia.

U.S. Call To Change Policy on Aid for Russia Eyed

PM0306131793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29
May 93 First Edition p 8

[Editorial Viewpoint: "Diehard Opposition Incomprehensible"]

[Text] The magazine NOVOYE VREMYA has published a memorandum penned by an anonymous U.S. author. The foreword says that the ideas expressed in it enjoy wide currency among the upper echelons of the U.S. establishment.

The memorandum essentially calls for a radical rethink of the whole of Western policy toward Russia and a switch from uncoordinated acts of help for our reforms to the direct participation of the world's most developed states in the democratic transformation of the Russian imperial giant.

In more comprehensible language, the question is this: It is time at last for the West to switch from important but quite limited aid to the implementation of a whole series of actions of a fundamentally different type, really large-scale actions capable of influencing the state of affairs within the country.

It is interesting here that when justifying the need for a "new policy," the nameless author persistently stresses that the proposed actions are designed virtually first and foremost to neutralize the "challenge of the diehard opposition;" that is, to pacify and suppress those who are very aggressive toward the changes. But is there a direct link between the morals of Anpilov's henchmen or the St. Petersburg fascists and whether or not, for example, two or three ultramodern megacities will be built in Russia for refugees from the neighboring republics, demobilized soldiers, or all the homeless and desperate? In the opinion of our American wellwisher there undoubtedly is. Because when such cities are created the "diehards" will no longer be able to claim that democracy has left millions of Russians in the distant republics in the lurch.

There are at least two noteworthy features in such arguments. First, the fact that our wellwishers in the West regard the opposition as a real political force and are now thinking seriously about how they can help our fledgling democracy without harming it or aggravating the domestic political struggle. The second noteworthy point is the path of neutralizing the opposition which to outsiders appears effective. But is it really effective?

You have to clearly understand the way of thought and action of our "diehards" so as not to be fooled into thinking that it is possible to win them over. Unfortunately within the confines of normal human logic it is impossible to understand and predict the actions of those who call the lawfully elected government one of occupation and call for its violent overthrow.

By acting outside the framework of the civilized political struggle the opposition makes it necessary for more resolute actions to be taken in two areas at the same time. While eliminating the economic factors which give rise to social discontent among the masses it is necessary to simultaneously strengthen the executive so that it has the power in all circumstances to keep the actions of the opponents of democratic transformations within the bounds of law and order.

Obstacles to Broader Trade With U.S. Hit

PM0306160593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by Nikolay Drozdov: "'Purgatory' in the U.S. Market. United States Still Closed to Our Goods"]

[Text] Last year, according to State Committee for Statistics data, the United States accounted for 4.6 percent of all Russia's trade with foreign countries. The volume of mutual exchange increased last year by 15 percent and amounted to around \$3.4 billion (exports—\$690 million; imports—\$2.71 billion). But, you will agree, these figures and the great power's place in our trade—coming below the Czech Republic and Slovakia—is not impressive. There is another striking fact—there is an enormous, yawning gap in bilateral trade: We have bought a very great deal and sold little and we have spent on the U.S. market the meager funds we have earned in Europe or Japan.

The major imbalance in our trade with the United States is not the only depressing factor. The structure of exports and imports gives no cause for celebration either. Basically we export things we can sell anywhere—nonferrous metals, oil and petroleum products, nonindustrial diamonds, and some furs. In exchange for vodka we buy "Pepsi Cola" concentrate. We sold even less machinery and equipment—mainly agricultural. Moreover, the tractors are now Belarusian, and not "Made in Russia." And although we were exporting equipment to the United States, it does not mean that someone there was bound to buy it. In the stagnation era there were occasional "strays"—cases where tractors and spare parts for them came home because no one abroad wanted them. Official statistics did not reflect these details.

Why did this situation arise? It is no secret that not only Russia is finding it hard to break into the U.S. market. It is saturated, often overly saturated. So you can find your niche there only if the goods or services you are offering are of the right quality and of an acceptable price. As for machinery and equipment, let us not beat around the bush—we did not have enough high-quality equipment.

Moreover, the U.S. market is noted for its very high consumer standards and in some areas it is highly specific. Western Europe buys a large number of "Lada" vehicles from us. The Americans are inclined to buy wider and more spacious cars however. Their technical, ecological, and other requirements relating to motor vehicles and other goods are very tough.

There are other obstacles as well. Suppose a department there decides to construct a facility which is to be financed from the federal budget. It is not entitled to involve foreigners and their technology, workforce, and so on in the construction until after U.S. companies have received orders; that is, the provisions of a "buy American" law operate.

Moreover, there are many articles in U.S. legislation which can only be described as discriminatory against Russia. Most of them were adopted against the USSR in the cold war era, but they continue to treat Russia as a communist country. And this automatically limits our potential for trade with the United States.

Lawyers have counted around 300 points of this kind in U.S. legislation, including the notorious Jackson-Vanik amendment. "Thanks" to it, for more than 15 years we have been excluded from the list of countries that enjoy most favored nation status in trade with the United States. It was not until last June that it was temporarily repealed. Most favored nation status means that our goods will now attract the same taxes as competitors'. That is, the rates are considerably lower than what we paid before. This alone will provide a saving of around \$40 million this year, and if you were to count the lost profit, the sum would be even greater. We also had the Stevenson amendment working against us. It obliged the U.S. Export-Import Bank not to issue us with investment credits in excess of \$300 million, but the chemical complexes we were buying cost \$2-3 billion each. Naturally, orders for them switched to companies in other countries.

There are still some other legal hitches, for example, in the U.S. law on export controls, on antidumping regulation, and others. Not to mention COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls], which is still considerably restricting exports of goods, technology, and dual-use materials to former communist countries. The Americans once refused to sell us their powerful computer, which we wanted to use in meteorology, using the COCOM ban as an excuse.

Now it transpires that there is a kind of presumption of guilt on Russia's part because of its communist past, and we are having to demonstrate that those times are gone for good. How long are we condemned to go on doing that? Apparently, we have to demonstrate this under U.S. laws if we want people to stop calling us a communist state or a state with a nonmarket economy. On the basis of several criteria, relating to hard currency, state policy in the sphere of prices and pay, and other criteria determining to some extent the state sector's share of the

economy. We are willing to provide full information and to start a dialogue with the United States.

I make no secret of the fact that we expected a great deal of the new administration in terms of a change for the better in this situation, particularly after President B. Clinton talked in Vancouver of willingness to contribute to mutual access to the U.S. and Russian markets, cooperation in the conversion sphere, and the removal of obstacles in the way of trade and investments. I must say that since the meeting in Vancouver and since the assurances of practical support for the Russian reforms and of an imminent review of the discriminatory restrictions in trade between our countries, the actions of some U.S. departments have been disappointing. Evidently, by no means everyone in the United States is prepared to build relations with Russia on the basis of partnership and fair competition. We know of cases where the United States has put political pressure on particular countries in order to intercept contracts for the sale of conventional types of weapons that might have been placed with Russian organizations. Yet our military exports are approximately one-tenth of the size of U.S. exports and income from them is practically the only means of financing conversion.

The United States is still making unwarranted accusations of dumping against our exporters. Only two weeks after Vancouver the Americans asked Russian suppliers of ferrosilicon to voluntarily reduce their exports to one-twentieth of their previous level. And when we rejected this method of "mutually acceptable" settlement of the problem, they announced the introduction of prohibitive antidumping duties. A case of obvious discrimination against our goods. In fact, the Americans claim that imports of ferrosilicon, which is used in steel production, is damaging or could damage the local economy. This is hard to believe, since our sales of this alloy on the U.S. market last year amounted to around... one percent of the total amount consumed in the United States; that is, a quantity that, figuratively speaking, could be carried in a suitcase.

What benefit do we get from that kind of trade? Our "uranium" sufferings continue. It is not our fault that our production of fuel for nuclear power stations is the most efficient in the world. But the United States, as is known, has imposed draconian antidumping duties on imports of our uranium and has effectively barred its way onto the market. You cannot call for much broader trade and then immediately place all manner of unwarranted discriminatory restrictions on it.

That is why it is easier for us to buy from than to sell to the United States, which has created an imbalance in our trade. What we buy most of is grain. From the viewpoint of the foreign trade specialist, it is a two-edged sword. Through imports we make up for what we were unable to gather in time and store away. On the other hand, the Americans are frightened of losing us as their major purchaser. They will not find another like that. It is no secret that America overproduces grain. China has

stopped large-scale purchases. And if we were to stop buying it U.S. farmers would have to pour it away. Hence the common interest.

In my view, there have been fundamental changes since the meeting in Vancouver. In particular, our colleagues are prepared to grant new credits of approximately \$700 million under the B. Clinton administration's "Food For Progress" program, although it has to be said that we have not been fulfilling our financial commitments of late to cover grain imports. The program assumes that we will use the money to buy wheat, soya meal, and a number of other food commodities.

The program's credit terms are simply brilliant, with one reservation. We have to buy all the food at U.S. market prices, which, as a rule, are higher than export and world prices, and 75 percent of these commodities have to be transported by U.S. ships. This means that the chartering of U.S. ships, insurance, and so on gobble up nearly one-half of the \$700 million of credit. As a result of talks we managed to raise the sum for the actual purchase of food to approximately \$500 million.

Aside from grain, we do not import that many goods from the United States—chemical products, special oils, cigarettes. But there are opportunities for increasing the volume and widening the range. But the right sources of finance have to be found for this: Either earn the money oneself or get intergovernmental and commercial credits. Unfortunately, private foreign banks and companies are reluctant to finance exports to Russia.

It is perfectly clear that Russian-American economic relations are not consonant with the role played by our countries in world trade. At the same time, there is a good basis for the development of mutually advantageous economic links—the Vancouver accords, the new agreed package of of bilateral economic programs and measures. Agreement was reached on setting up a Russian-American commission on technology matters, which will handle collaboration in the energy and space sphere. The Russian and U.S. presidents have instructed Russian Federation government chairman V. Chernomyrdin and U.S. Vice President A. Gore to head it. A Russian-American intergovernmental committee was set up to develop business cooperation. Working groups are being set up comprising senior representatives of both governments with wide-ranging powers and also of companies and firms in both countries.

Joint ventures have been playing a prominent role in economic collaboration between the two countries in recent years. U.S. firms are leading Western investors in terms of the number of joint ventures on Russian territory; over 300 joint ventures have been set up using U.S. capital. U.S. investments in Russia constitute around \$400 million and more than 300 U.S. firms have opened offices here.

I believe it is in Russian and U.S. interests to seek and find mutually acceptable compromises and solutions and strive to develop cooperation in all areas.

Chile's Aylwin, Delegation Continue Visit*LD0306131793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Jun 93*

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Aleksandridi; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A Chilean head of state entered the Grand Kremlin Palace today for the first time in two decades, beginning an official visit to Russia. The talks that Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Patricio Aylwin held after the formal welcoming ceremony show that both countries are interested in resuming the cooperation which was interrupted by the military coup in Chile. The development of this cooperation over the next few years will be determined by the bilateral documents signed in the Kremlin today, above all by the declaration on the principles of relations and cooperation between the two countries.

In Boris Yeltsin's view, Patricio Aylwin's visit to Moscow, which opens a new era in Russian-Chilean relations, and the agreements which have been reached have laid a good foundation for the development of partnership and cooperation between Russia and Chile. Agreeing with these sentiments, the Chilean president noted that Russia's reformers might find his country's experience in economic liberalization after the period of dictatorship useful.

Aylwin Meets Khasbulatov*LD0306135693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 3 Jun 93*

[Text] Today Russia's Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov met the delegation of the Republic of Chile headed by President Patricio Aylwin. Ruslan Khasbulatov said that the Supreme Soviet supports the policy of the Russian Government directed at expanding ties between Russia and Chile.

Foreign Ministers Meet*LD0306141393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 3 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his Chilean counterpart Enrique Silva Cimma held talks in the Russian Foreign Ministry on Thursday [3 June]. The ministers exchanged opinions on acute international and regional problems, in particular, on the situation around Bosnia and some issues of the development of bilateral relations.

The Chilean foreign minister arrived in Moscow as a member of a Chilean delegation led by Chilean President Patricio Aylwin, who arrived in Moscow on an official visit on Wednesday.

President Boris Yeltsin, who met the Chilean president on Thursday morning, said that the arrival of the

Chilean delegation marks the beginning of a new era in the relations between the two countries.

Aylwin Meets With Entrepreneurs*LD0306213293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1654 GMT 3 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—Visiting Chilean President Patricio Aylwin, currently in Moscow at the invitation of the Russian President Boris Yeltsin, met with Russian and Chilean entrepreneurs in Moscow today. Addressing the meeting, the Chilean president said that although there is much difference between the history and culture of the two countries, this should not impede close cooperation between Russia and Chile in different spheres.

Describing the development of the political situation in Chile over the past years, the Chilean president said that the transition from dictatorship to democracy was carried out in a peaceful way and was finally achieved as a result of consensus.

He said that the existing Constitution suits neither the government, nor the opposition. However, he pointed out that the Chilean Government would continue its activities in strict compliance with the Constitution and that the Constitution can be reviewed only in established limits and the established period of time.

The Chilean president said that Russia is in the world forefront in the sphere of science and engineering. Therefore, there is something Chile should take over from the Russian experience. For its part, Chile, although belonging to a category of developing countries, has its own achievements in various fields which can be useful for Russia. In the opinion of the Chilean president, bilateral relations should develop not only at the state and government level, but at the level of entrepreneurs as well.

The Chilean president pointed out that the present meeting was called upon to promote mutual contacts and the establishment of relations of close partnership and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Aylwin Meets With Scientists*LD0306222593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1759 GMT 3 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Bakina]

[Text] Moscow, June 3 (TASS)—Visiting Chilean President Patricio Aylwin had a meeting with Russian researchers and scholars in the Academy of Sciences here.

The meeting was opened by academy president Yuriy Osipov who hailed the historic significance of the Chilean president's visit to Russia—for the first time in

centuries, the Chilean head of state was a guest of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

"In recent years, bilateral scientific links between our countries have been strengthening," Osipov said. An agreement on scientific and technical cooperation was signed between the Russian Academy of Sciences and the University of Santiago this year. In addition during the visit of Russians to Chile, the Russian academy president met the rector of the University of Chile to stress the mutual desire to continue scientific cooperation which had earlier been interrupted for reasons beyond the control of the two scientific communities.

Chilean president told Russian scientists that "Russia evokes great interest in Chile. Because of this the possibility of strengthening bilateral relations is great".

The Russian academy awarded the Chilean president a diploma of its honorary member.

Discusses New Constitution With Shumeyko

LD0406081893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0722 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko met today Chilean President Patricio Aylwin, now on an official visit in Russia.

During the meeting the Chilean leader expressed much interest in the process of working out and adopting a new constitution, which is under way in Russia, Shumeyko told journalists. Both participants in the talks were unanimous in their opinion that a further economic development of Russia is impossible without the adoption of a new fundamental law. Aylwin said at the meeting that after a long quest for the type of national setup which would be optimal for Chile, they came to the conclusion that a presidential republic would be preferable.

After discussing some problems of economic cooperation, the sides agreed that a Russian Government delegation would pay an official visit to Chile. According to Shumeyko, participants in the meeting expressed the intention to examine matters dealing with the resumption of the deliveries to Russia of Chilean copper and nickel concentrates, as well as rare earth metals.

Meets With Constitutional Court Chairman

LD0406103793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0907 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—Chairman of the Russian Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin met Chilean President Patricio Aylwin Azocar and members of the Chilean Government delegation here on Friday [4 June].

The sides focused on the development of the constitutional process in the two countries. "There is much work to do for the Russian Constitutional Court to play a positive role in establishing a law-governed state," Zorkin said at the meeting.

"There is much in common in the work of our courts: they check constitutionality of laws and decrees and protect citizens' constitutional rights," he added.

Aylwin informed Zorkin of the activities of the Chilean Constitutional Court which was "established as an independent body from other arms of government". He noted that the Chilean Constitutional Court acts "as an arbitrator and is strictly a legal and juridical institution".

Holds Talks With Moscow Patriarch

LD0406104193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0929 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dmitriy Zlodorev]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—Aleksey II, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, had a meeting today with Chilean President Patricio Aylwin. They discussed the role of religion in the spiritual rebirth of Russia and the place of Christianity in the life of Chile. The head of the Russian Orthodox Church cordially welcomed the guest at his residence in the St. Daniil monastery.

Patriarch Aleksey II and Patricio Aylwin had a friendly conversation. They pointed out that there was much in common in the historic experience of their two countries. Aside from it, they mentioned problems dealing with the existence of a Russian Orthodox Parish in Santiago. The role it is playing grew in importance during the past several years, following the expansion of contacts between the two countries.

After the end of the conversation Patricio Aylwin, accompanied by Patriarch Aleksey II, saw the sights of the monastery.

Foreign Ministry Cited on 'Sudden Removal' of FRY's Cosic

LD0306131293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1240 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—A Russian Foreign Ministry representative came forward today with a statement which says the following:

"A year ago we welcomed the election of D. Cosic, the famous Serbian writer and major public figure in Yugoslavia, as president of the FRY. During the year he showed himself to be a politician noted for his desire to normalize relations with all the new states which have appeared on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Now we have become witness to the sudden removal of Cosic from the post of president, carried out within the framework of democratic norms which are far from

being the best. At the same time, major demonstrations that ended in clashes with law enforcement forces have taken place in Belgrade.

These purely domestic events in Yugoslavia are a cause for concern to us as evidence of an increase in tension in the country and the development of antidemocratic trends.

It is extremely important that Belgrade not only preserve the constructive elements of its position on the settlement in Bosnia, as manifested in Athens and enshrined in the well-known Federal Assembly statements by the presidents of the FRY, Serbia, and Montenegro, but also ensure a more active promotion of the restoration of peace in Bosnia on the basis of the well-known positions formulated by the world community. No less topical is continuing the line toward the quickest possible regulation of the range of relations between the FRY and all the new states emerging on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Bosnian Envoy Djikic Criticizes Balkan Stance

MK0306124493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 23, 6 Jun 93 (signed to press 1 Jun) p A15

[Interview with Ibrahim Djikic, representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Russia, by Igor Nekrasov; in Moscow on 1 June, published within the "Crisis" column: "Bosnians Demand Weapons"]

[Text] Since last year a representation office of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been working in Moscow. As of today this republic has been recognized by approximately 80 states, while some 50 countries have established diplomatic relations with Sarajevo.

[Nekrasov] The signing by the "Yugoslav group of five" of a joint action program has been followed by sharp criticism of this document from a number of states. It seems that the agreement reached in Washington is unacceptable for Sarajevo?

[Djikic] In Bosnia, not just a war is going on but genocide of the Bosnian people. It is surprising that the joint action program presents the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina not as Serbian aggression but as a civil war. The Bosnian Muslims, however, are being denied the right to get weapons to defend their people. The embargo on arms deliveries has been preserved, but the West does not intend to stop the Serbian aggression. We insist that the UN Security Council introduce changes to this program, taking the Bosnians' interests into account.

[Nekrasov] In Bosnia, Russian volunteers are fighting on the side of the Serbs, and people from Islamic countries on the side of the Muslims. In early April three Russian volunteers were killed near the town of Visegrad in eastern Bosnia. Their bodies have remained with the Muslim side. Do you agree to enter direct negotiations on this issue with representatives of recruiting centers

that are sending Russians to Bosnia? These centers, as far as MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI is aware, are ready to withdraw part of the volunteers from Bosnia.

[Djikic] Allow me to ask: What were the Russians doing near Visegrad during the war? The problem of Russian mercenaries, as well as Russia's official position which does not prevent their traveling to Bosnia, is very worrying. A law on mercenaries has been shelved in the Russian parliament. This is why we in particular will object to the appearance in Bosnia of Russian military personnel as part of the UN forces. If Russian mercenaries are fighting in Bosnia, is it possible therefore to regard the position of the Russian military as impartial? As for volunteers coming to fight on the Bosnian side, their number is extremely insignificant.

Today no one can guarantee that the relatives or friends of those killed will ever manage to get their bodies. But I am ready to listen to the relatives' request, and I can also inform Sarajevo about this (the meeting took place in Moscow on 1 June—ed.)

[Nekrasov] What is your forecast for the development of the situation in Bosnia?

[Djikic] I think that with the present attitude of the international community to Bosnia the war will continue—we have no other option. Historically, it has already happened that we fought in Bosnia for four years in succession. During World War II the main combat operations took place exactly on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. If the international community were to undertake energetic actions today to defend us against aggression, there would be no need to lift the embargo on arms deliveries. This, however, does not really seem to concern anybody today. At the same time, if no action is taken, all the Bosnians could be annihilated. Therefore peace in Bosnia today can be established only by force.

Vice Premier Lobov To Meet With Slovak Economy Minister

PM0306115493 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report from "Meetings, Visits, Trips" column]

[Text] First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov meets today with Slovak Economy Minister Jaroslav Kubecka. The main aim of the visit is to sign a protocol on trade and economic relations in 1993, which will define indicative lists [indikativnyye spiski] of goods for compulsory delivery to Russia and Slovakia.

Kozyrev Heads to Kiev To Prepare Summit

LD0406055893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0420 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jun—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev left for Kiev by air early this morning to meet the Ukrainian leadership. The purpose of the visit, which is being made on the instructions of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, is to lay the groundwork for the Russian-Ukrainian summit at which it is proposed that a solution surrounding the Black Sea Fleet situation will be found.

Kozyrev is to meet Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko. During the talks it is proposed that the issue should be examined of concluding a political treaty between the two states, of the ratification by the Ukraine of the START-I Treaty, of its becoming a signatory to the Lisbon protocol, as well as some problems relating to bilateral Russian-Ukrainian relations, in particular trade and economic cooperation.

Feliks Gromov, commander in chief of Russia's Navy, left for Kiev with the Russian foreign minister.

Ongoing Political Turmoil in Ukraine Viewed

MK0406111093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jun 93 p 3

[Vitaliy Portnikov commentary under "Ukraine" rubric, under the general headline: "Parliament Refuses Both Kravchuk and Kuchma. Will President, Premier Take Action?"]

[Text] The Ukrainian parliament has denied Leonid Kravchuk the right to head the government and at the same time refused to extend the special powers granted to Leonid Kuchma's cabinet immediately after the formation of Ukraine's new government. At first sight, this appears to be a serious defeat for the Ukrainian leaders and a victory for the deputy corps, which immediately brings to mind the Russian parliament, just as willful and power-hungry. However, Vladimir Yavorivskiy, a Supreme Soviet deputy, during the discussion of the situation that had developed after Kuchma's resignation proposed a totally different scenario to his colleagues. If we turn down the president, who is ready to become a prime minister, the deputy explained to his colleagues, Kravchuk would soon recall that he was ready to assume responsibility for the salvation of the Ukrainian economy. The deputies did not allow it. If we reject the government's request and do not extend its powers, the ministers will be attributing any shortcomings on the part of the cabinet to a lack of real powers. The entire responsibility for what is going on would rest with parliament.

Supreme Soviet deputies did not heed Yavorivskiy, just like many other parliamentarians who spoke out in support of the Kuchma government or the presidential initiatives. Presumably they did not heed them for the same reasons as their Russian colleagues: The wish to concentrate as much power as possible in the deputies' hands is becoming an obsession that does not always depend on the personal characteristics of the person at

the top. Thus, Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Speaker Ivan Plyushch is far from displaying the same level of enthusiasm over the concentration of powers in his hands that would make it possible to compare him to Ruslan Khasbulatov. Nevertheless, the deputies themselves are getting carried away in their efforts, ignoring the fact that the political situation in Ukraine is not at all what it is in Russia. And the responsibility for the Ukrainian economy is indeed a noose that not every politician would long to put around his neck. Therefore President Leonid Kravchuk, as well as Premier Leonid Kuchma, ran a serious risk when expressing their intention to assume this burden of responsibility. Nonetheless, they did not misjudge their parliament.

The crisis in the Ukrainian economy so far is just as inevitable as the ongoing marginalization of the Soviet structures. It was important only to link one with the other. Leonid Kravchuk has already suggested that the Supreme Soviet was leaving the parliamentary political scene when he spoke about the need to have the country's constitution adopted by a transitional body. So far, however, the president has had no real cause for appealing to the people (as he promised) to prove that parliament is really standing in his and the government's way. Now this chance has emerged. The new spiral of inflation coinciding with rising prices, which the government has been trying to restrain in the last few months with great difficulty, will be perceived by the public precisely as a collapse of Kuchma's economic reforms, resulting from his removal from real activity. For his part, the president, tied hand and foot by the parliament's decisions, will get the possibility to come out with serious appeals on TV, explaining to his electors the true state of things in Ukraine.

The only thing that could prevent the cold-blooded game by the present deputy corps is the Ukrainian economy itself, which has found itself in such a complicated situation that the "players'" nerves could simply fail them in expectation of the prospects opening up. Then both Kravchuk and Kuchma will quickly have to turn into a kind of "Ukrainian Yeltsin," plowing ahead like a tractor without thinking about the consequences.

Pastukhov Participates in Georgian-Abkhazian Meeting

LD0306170093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1619 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Schegoleva]

[Text] Sochi June 3 TASS—"We are deeply concerned that the ceasefire has been violated in Abkhazia when humanitarian action was taking place," Boris Pastukhov, Russian deputy foreign minister, said on Thursday upon arrival at a working meeting between Georgian and Abkhazian officials held in Sochi today.

The meeting was attended by a representative of the Georgian Parliament Chairman, Sandro Kavsadze, who arrived from Tbilisi to take part in the talks. It is

expected that the work at a tripartite agreement will be continued in Sochi and Gudauta.

In the meantime, an emergency team of the Russian Committee for Emergency Situations (RCES) is continuing preparations for the evacuation of the population from Tkvarcheli and Sukhumi.

A RCES rescue team reported that about 200 Georgian citizens want to leave Tkvarcheli. The chief of the RCES emergency team, Yuriy Dyakov, believes that as soon as flights to Tkvarcheli are resumed, the interests of the Russian-speaking population Georgians should primarily be taken into account.

The beginning of the evacuation of people from Sukhumi by sea is scheduled for June, 5. According to Dyakov, about 700 people, predominantly of the Russian-speaking population, have been put on a list of those wishing to leave the city.

General, Ambassador Hold News Conference in Moscow

LD0306141193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Telephone report from the Georgian Embassy in Moscow by Yevgeniy Shirokov]

[Text] I am speaking from the embassy mansion on Paliashvili Street. Georgian Ambassador Valerian Advadze and Lieutenant General Levan Sharashenidze, deputy defense minister, held a news conference here today.

It was the general who read out to journalists the text of a statement released by his ministry. The main thrust is that, disregarding the agreement reached at the Moscow meeting between Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze, which envisaged a cease-fire in the area of Georgian-Abkhazian conflict starting 20 May, the Gudauta side shelled certain villages and the outskirts of Sukhumi on 31 May and subsequent days.

As for the conclusions that can be drawn from the fact that Russia is acting as a guarantor of the observance of the agreement by the Gudauta side, I will quote: One can assume that once again the separatist Abkhazian leadership will endeavor to wreck the present cease-fire agreement to prevent the conclusion of a treaty between Russia and Georgia.

Here is another quote from the document: It says that if an offensive is launched against Sukhumi in the near future, it will be evident what reactionary forces are backing Abkhazian separatists.

Frankly speaking, knowing the situation as I do, I thought that this meant some serious complications had arisen which might, God forbid, slow down the expected signing of the Russian-Georgian treaty. But subsequent clarifications and replies to questions from journalists convinced me that everything is proceeding as planned.

The final round of talks is to be held shortly and Boris Yeltsin will be a welcome guest in Tbilisi at the end of June, as agreed.

As for this diplomatic step taken by the Georgian side, it has been dictated by its misgivings that inside Russia, where—as has been pointed out here—the spectrum of political tendencies is very wide, there are forces intent on being hostile toward independent Georgia and on wrecking the forthcoming treaty. In the view of Georgia's official representatives, it is these forces that are helping Abkhazians in their war against Georgia. Asked whether Russia can continue to act as a guarantor in settling the conflict under these circumstances, the Georgian general replied: Russia has a major role to play, and I would like to believe that the Russian leadership will sort out their position as to what course of action to take.

I would like to say that both the ambassador and the representative of Georgia's Defense Ministry emphasized on this occasion that under the agreement reached with Russia, international organizations will participate in the peace process together with Russia. I have to say that the international civil diplomacy mission, in which I am a member, also plans to take part in the moves to monitor the cease-fire, provided it holds, of course. So it is quite possible that quite soon I will once again have to act as your special correspondent in the area of discontinued—I would very much like to say—fighting.

Humanitarian Flights to Georgia Discussed at Sochi Talks

LD0406082693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1641 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 3 Jun— "It is too early to talk about an end to humanitarian action - in my view, this is merely a temporary delay caused by yesterday's exacerbation of the situation in the conflict zone," Sergey Kudinov, chief of the operational group of the State Committee for Emergency Situations, told journalists at the end of a working meeting.

For his part, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov stressed that a resumption of humanitarian action would be possible only if the complete safety of flights could be guaranteed and if both sides observe the cease-fire. In Boris Pastukhov's opinion, a number of radical steps should be taken to make the cease-fire process irreversible: dispersing the opposing formations and bringing peace-keeping forces into the conflict zone. Unfortunately, this proposal has not been implemented.

A personal representative of Georgian parliament chairman Sandro Kavsadze described today's meeting in Sochi as constructive. In his opinion, the action was halted only because the Sukhumi military leadership was unable to guarantee the safety of helicopter flights with humanitarian aid because of the exacerbation of the situation in the conflict zone.

Today a group of officials of the State Committee for Emergency Situations flew to Sukhumi to continue work on an agreement covering additional safety guarantees for the operation. Boris Pastukhov has gone to Gudauta on the same mission. If the work is a success, then in Sergey Kudinov's opinion, the action to deliver humanitarian aid to Tkvarcheli might even be resumed tomorrow.

Azeri Parliament Chairman To Help Servicemen

LD0306141793 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1413 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 3 *ITAR-TASS*—Chairman of the Azeri National Assembly has expressed his readiness to take part in activities to help six Russian servicemen indicted by the Azeri court, the press service of the Russian Parliament reported on Thursday [3 June].

The servicemen, belonging to a Russian special surveillance team, which was stationed in Armenia, deserted the Russian Army to join self-defence forces of Nagorno-Karabakh. Later, they were taken prisoner and the Azeri court sentenced five servicemen to death, and one of them to 15 years imprisonment.

"On May 19, Chairman of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov sent a letter to the chairman of the Azeri National Assembly (Milli Mejlis) Isa Gambarov, asking him to personally attend to the fate of the Russian servicemen indicted by the Azeri court," the press service said.

Khasbulatov sent a group of Russian parliamentarians, led by Deputy Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the Russian Parliament, Anatoliy Anikeyev, to hold talks with the leadership of the Azeri Assembly.

"Anikeyev, who returned to Moscow on June 2 for consultations with the Russian Parliament on the continuation of the talks with Azeri parliamentarians, said that positive changes had taken place in the solution of the problem which is of great importance for maintaining the atmosphere of good-neighbourly relations and mutual understanding between the two friendly states," the press service said.

Talks With Latvia Called Successful; 10 Accords Signed

MK0306112693 Moscow *KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian* 3 Jun 93 p 9

[Sergey Tsekhmistrenko, Viktor Zamyatin report: "Results of Russian-Latvian Talks. Annulment of Previously Concluded Agreement Did Not Prevent 10 New Ones From Being Signed"]

[Text] The Moscow round of talks between Russia and Latvia ended yesterday in the signing of a large package of agreements, although few would have dared to predict such an outcome earlier. The reason for this was that on 1 June the Latvian parliament unexpectedly annulled an

interstate agreement on the joint operation of eight Russian defense enterprises in Latvia, which was signed in Jurmala 21 May at the previous round of talks. This decision, however, could not change the general climate of the talks, although it made its participants a little nervous, and even forced Janis Dinevics, chief of the Latvian delegation, to depart Moscow for Riga for a day.

The reason given for the decision by the Latvian parliament was that the agreement on the operation of the enterprises "was inconsistent with the state interests of the Latvian Republic." According to the Latvian deputies, "all the armed forces' real estate" should be transferred to the ownership of Latvia, whereas under the aforesaid document the plants were to be converted into joint-stock companies and their controlling blocks of shares given to Latvia. Dinevics' personal attempts to influence the mood of the Latvian people's representatives in order to save a document he signed 10 days ago proved unsuccessful. Speaking at a press conference before returning to Moscow for talks, he sadly noted that the Latvian Supreme Soviet "is drifting away from a pragmatic approach to momentous issues on the eve of the elections to the Sejmas."

The opinion expressed on the subject by Sergey Zotov, chief of the Russian delegation at the talks, was more categorical—the decision annulling the agreement was "unprecedented;" "it trampled underfoot the universally recognized principles and norms of international law." Zotov noted in a special statement distributed yesterday after the official ceremony of the signing of the agreements reached during the Moscow round that under the Vienna convention the reference to "the inconsistency with state interests" was not included in the list of circumstances that may lead to the abrogation of bilateral agreements. In this connection, the Russian side plans to file a lawsuit with the International Court of Justice.

Despite this incident, the round can be considered a success. According to Zotov, "we have learned to hear and to understand each other, to balance our interests." Ten agreements were signed, including accords on the joint operation of oil pipelines stretching over Latvian territory. At the same time, a number of questions, such as the timetable for the withdrawal of the Russian troops, granting Latvia most favored nation status in trade, preventing dual taxation, and joint investment protection have been left open. There are signs, however, that these problems may be resolved in the near future. The more so because by Boris Yeltsin's issued yesterday, the chiefs of the Russian delegations negotiating with the Baltic states were given the right to make proposals to the Russian Foreign Ministry, to be submitted later to the Council of Ministers, on the whole range of issues regarding the negotiating process, and also to sign at government request agreements with Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia on behalf of Russia.

Yeltsin Names New Delegate to Talks With Moldova

PM0306135893 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Documents"]

[Text] By edicts of the Russian Federation president, Vladimir Kitayev is appointed leader of the Russian Federation delegation to talks with the Republic of Moldova on questions of bilateral relations of mutual interest in the political, military, economic, social, and humanitarian spheres. And Vladimir Plechko is released from these duties.

By directive of the Russian Federation president, measures are outlined to increase the effectiveness of the activity of Russian Federation delegations to talks with the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, and the Estonian Republic.

Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin warned V. Berestovoy, head of administration of Belgorod Oblast, about his improper official conduct in relation to serious violations in fulfilling Russian Federation Government decrees regulating the export of goods outside the Russian Federation.

Parliament Ratifies Treaty on Relations With Turkey

LD0306143893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1305 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jun—The Russian Parliament has ratified a treaty on the fundamentals of relations between the Russian Federation and the Turkish Republic, which was signed by President Boris Yeltsin and Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel in Moscow on 25 May. Today a majority of deputies voted in favor of this decision at a joint sitting of the chambers.

Presenting this document to Parliament, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev noted that it is "an important component in implementing the strategy of goodneighborliness along the entire perimeter of the borders of the Russian Federation and the CIS." The minister stressed that "the treaty takes Russian-Turkish relations to a qualitatively new level, corresponding to the realities of the modern world."

Grachev Arrives in Germany on Visit

LD0406060293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2054 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Korinenko]

[Text] Berlin June 3 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev arrived on Thursday [3 June] in the

Western group of troops. He intends to get acquainted with the withdrawal of Russian formations and units from the territory of Germany.

The agenda of the visit of the Russian defence minister includes the meeting with U.S. Secretary of Defence Les Aspin. Their meeting will be held in Garmisch-Partentirchen. The two ministers plan to study the issues which they intend to discuss during the Russian defence minister's visit to the U.S.A. scheduled for the second half of June.

Belgian Defense Minister Arrives in St. Petersburg

LD0306221193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1735 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Zavinovskiy]

[Text] St. Petersburg June 3 TASS—Visiting Belgian Defence Minister Leo Delcroix arrived in St. Petersburg on Thursday [3 June].

He met with the commander of the Leningrad Military District, Colonel-General Sergey Seleznyov and the St. Petersburg Vice-Mayor Vyacheslav Scherbakov.

Delcroix told ITAR-TASS that there should be a more regular exchange of visits between Russian and Belgian military departments. The Belgian defence minister said that in his opinion, Russia was extremely interested at present in the expansion of its military contacts with Belgium, since the U.N. headquarters is situated in Brussels which holds the presidency in the European Community. Belgium has long-standing traditions in carrying out mediatory missions in foreign politics, which is important for Russia as well, the Belgian minister said.

Asked about a joint inspection of U.N. contingents of peace-keeping forces in Yugoslavia, sent by the Russian Federation and Belgium, Delcroix pointed out that during his visit he reached an agreement with Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev to visit one of the Yugoslav regions, where Russian and Belgian battalions are deployed, in October, 1993.

Israel Offers Conditional Investment in Birobidzhan

LD0306174993 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1430 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Israeli businessmen expressed willingness to invest in the Jewish Autonomous Oblast in the Far East on condition that it leaves the Russian Federation. Members of an official delegation from the Jewish Autonomous Oblast which visited Tel Aviv said that the main result of the visit was their understanding that Israel will not invest one shekel in the oblast's economy until this condition is fulfilled.

At the same time, Tel Aviv is examining plans for the construction of an international airport in the suburbs of Birobidzhan on the basis of a closed military airbase and also major long-term investment in the construction of agricultural projects and the organization of an international television company with the participation of Israeli and U.S. Jewish communities.

Commentary Views Situation in Angola

MB0306164993 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans
1700 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Radio Moscow commentary]

[Text] The UN Security Council has finally decided to extend the mandate of its mission in Angola by 45 days. Our commentator, Yevgeniy Krushkin, notes that the mission is assigned the task of overseeing the implementation of the peace accord between UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the Angolan Government signed in 1991, and which was due to have ended the ongoing civil war in the country. The accord, however, was violated when UNITA resorted to military action after losing the general elections at the end of last year.

The international community is definitely concerned about the situation, especially now that the Angolan peace talks in Abidjan failed, despite the participation of the UN secretary general and observers from Russia, the U.S., and Portugal. UNITA refused to withdraw its troops from areas it had occupied over the last few months. Fierce fighting is currently still raging in many parts of the country, especially in the north of the country where oil is being exploited. The Security Council blamed UNITA for the failure of the peace talks. The Russian UN representative in Angola (Yuriy Barantsov) announced that UNITA's leadership, under Jonas Savimbi, has adopted an unreconcilable position. At the same time he expressed the hope that the opposition movement will come forward with some practical realism and responsibility and cooperate with the Angolan Government to end the hostilities and restore peace.

The Security Council also proposed urgent measures should UNITA persist with its provocative conduct. The international community cannot allow the spreading of the armed conflict in Angola as it threatens stability in the region as a whole.

Supreme Council To Investigate DPRK Logging Camps

SK0406041793 Seoul YONHAP in English 0319 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 3 (YONHAP)—The Russian Supreme Council will undertake a full investigation into allegations of human rights abuses at North Korean

logging camps in Siberia, Sergey Kovalev, chairman of the Council's Committee on Human Rights, said Thursday [3 June].

Kovalev said the Supreme Council had sent a delegation of deputies to Khabarovsk in the Russian far east to conduct the investigation of the North Korean labor camps with local Russian officials there.

Kovalev said the council had determined that the situation at the North Korean camps was serious since an increasing number of Korean Lumberjacks were escaping.

The Supreme Council plans to file the result of its investigation with the United Nations human rights conference, which is scheduled to open in Geneva soon, he said.

One of the escapees, identified as Kim Chang-on, has asked the Supreme Council and President Boris Yeltsin for asylum. Kim is said to be hiding somewhere in Russia from pursuing North Korean security agents since he bolted from his camp.

The Russian authorities, prior to deliberating Kim's appeal, had noted that such incidents were on the rise recently. Total number of escapees is estimated to be around 50 so far.

An estimated 20,000 North Korean laborers were said to be working in North Korean logging camps, which are not subject to Russian law under an agreement signed between the Soviet Union and North Korea.

Premier Miyazawa Cited on Relations With Russia

PM0406081593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Sergey Agafonov report: "Japanese Premier's Remarks on the Russian Topic"]

[Text] Tokyo—Kiichi Miyazawa, head of the Japanese cabinet, made a number of noteworthy remarks about Russian-Japanese relations at parliament's budget commission hearings held at the end of last week. Compared with previous remarks by the premier himself and a number of other officials in Tokyo, his present remarks are distinguished by their calmer and more constructive tone.

Replying to questions from parliamentary colleagues about the prospects for Boris Yeltsin's upcoming arrival in Tokyo for the G-7 meeting, Miyazawa said that questions of bilateral relations, primarily the territorial issue, will not be submitted for general discussion. The Japanese side intends to discuss bilateral affairs in detail with the Russian president, but within the framework of the "Japanese-Russian round" and not in the context of the G-7's general measures.

At the same time Miyazawa noted that he regards his main task at the present stage as obtaining confirmation from the Russian side of the lack of change in Moscow's previously announced course toward full normalization of relations with Japan, including the territorial dispute, on the basis of principles of legality and justice. The head of the Japanese cabinet of ministers stated moreover that the political and economic changes that are going on in Russia should not be regarded as something unconnected with Japan. "We," he said, "would have cause for great regret if the democratic and market reforms in Russia were to end in failure."

In addition to these basic provisions, Miyazawa noted that, bearing in mind the current situation in Russia, the territorial issue and the debate that has sprung up around it are creating big problems for Yeltsin's administration. According to SANKEI SHIMBUN, this proviso demonstrates that Tokyo is beginning to understand that it is impossible to expect rapid and radical decisions on this complex problem.

Observers homed in on one other passage in Miyazawa's remarks in which he touched on the actions of the Russian Foreign Ministry. According to the prime minister, the Russian Foreign Ministry is working assiduously but seems to lack opportunities to bring its deliberations on Japanese-Russian relations directly to the president's notice. SANKEI believes this should be interpreted as concern on Tokyo's part that Yeltsin lacks clear information in the Japanese sphere and that the Russian president is too snowed under with domestic problems which are preventing him from delving into the essence of bilateral issues.

There seemed to be no evidence of direct linkage between the Japanese premier's recent remarks and the visit to Tokyo by former Russian Premier Gaydar. However, from the evidence of well-informed sources in the Japanese capital, a link undoubtedly exists. Gaydar, in his capacity as Yeltsin's adviser and hence as an official figure, managed to defuse the nervy atmosphere which developed in Tokyo following the news that Yeltsin could not come to Japan in May as many had been hoping. Gaydar reassured the Japanese by describing the diplomacy of new Russia as being still in its infancy and appealing for them to show indulgence in their assessments of it, and also by the fact that he personally brought with him an apology to the Japanese side for Moscow's unpleasant surprises, explaining at the same time that excessive insistence by the Japanese would not help the situation and might only ruin everything once and for all. We must suppose that nobody in Tokyo wants to contemplate this "once and for all," which is what the head of the Japanese cabinet stated word for word when he spoke at the parliamentary hearings.

Japanese Parliamentarians Visit Khabarovsk

LD0406080793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0718 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Khabarovsk June 4 TASS—Chairman of Japan's Niigata Prefectural Assembly Takehito Meguro considers direct interparliamentary contacts an important step in the economic development of the two countries and strengthening democratic processes. He is heading a delegation of Japanese parliamentarians which arrived in Khabarovsk on the invitation of the Council of People's Deputies of this territory.

Khabarovsk and Niigata have been maintaining strong and diverse ties for the past 20 years when direct flights began running between Khabarovsk and Niigata. Now relations between the two territories have risen to a new level.

The Japanese parliamentarians are interested in problems of between the legislature and the executive of the Russian far eastern region. These questions were considered at meetings of the guests with the head of the administration of Khabarovsk territory Viktor Ishayev and chairman of the territory's council Igor Tsvetkov.

The Japanese delegation will acquaint itself with the work of public health, cultural and other organizations. It will also pay visits to Vladivostok and Irkutsk.

Official Views Business Ties With Japan

LD0406014393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2053 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—"Russian and Japanese industrialists can and must do mutually beneficial business without participation and support on the part of their governments," Arkadiy Volskiy, head of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Businessmen, told ITAR-TASS on Thursday [3 June].

Volskiy participates in the first Russo-Japanese conference on economic cooperation currently underway in Moscow.

According to Volskiy, precisely such meetings of prominent businessmen, industrialists and bankers may be able "to make a breach in the wall of problems" which still separates the two countries, to help raise the whole complex of the bilateral links, including humanitarian and political relations, to a qualitatively new level.

"Our steps toward each other have been delayed beyond all measures, and representatives of the two business communities are the first to sense it," he emphasized.

A Japanese delegate to the conference said that in Russia "nobody knows, who knows" how to solve concrete problems of implementation of the mutually beneficial projects for trade and economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

However, it seems that the "captains" of the industry, business and finance are increasingly asserting themselves in this country. They are ready to assume a lion's share of the responsibility for normalizing Russo-Japanese relations.

According to Volskiy, the businessmen of the two countries may accomplish the task not only with the help of direct contacts with each other, but also by lobbying their own governments, by prompting them to take certain political decisions.

South Korea To Buy Russian High Technology

LD0306230993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2050 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko]

[Text] Seoul, June 4 (TASS)—South Korea intends to purchase around 40 high Russian technologies, South Korean officials declared on Thursday [3 June] at the third session of the Russo-Korean Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation, which ended in Seoul on Thursday. The agenda of the session included problems of the implementation of joint projects by scientists of the two countries, the expansion of the information exchange and the use of Russian scientific achievements in South Korea.

An exhibition of Russian technological achievements held in the city of Taejon, aroused a great interest among South Korean industrial and scientific circles, Boris Saltykov, the Russian minister for science and technical policy, told ITAR-TASS.

He said that there was a brisk demand for at least half of exhibits displayed and that the sides were prepared to hold talks on the terms of passing over technologies to South Korean partners.

During the session a decision was taken to give up a number of joint projects which have no prospects. However, about 30 contracts, financed by both sides, are already being implemented. Participants in the Russo-Korean meeting suggested further developing the idea of opening South Korean research centres in Russia, involving Russian experts. A problem of the protection of Russian intellectual property against the background of the growing danger of "brain drain" from Russia to South Korea, which has been confirmed by concrete facts, causes a particular concern.

The South Korean minister for science and engineering, Kim Si-chung, who heads the Korean section of the joint committee, said in an interview with ITAR-TASS that South Korea badly needs scientific information on research carried out in Russia. He said that Russia possesses unique achievements in the sphere of high technology. However, he pointed out that there is a serious gap in information exchange which can be overcome by stepping up the information exchange. But in general, Russia and South Korea possess considerable

potential for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation, the minister said.

Country's Policy in Nagorno-Karabakh Criticized

MK0306131093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 23, 6 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 1 Jun) p A2-3

[Vladimir Yemelyanenko report under the "Commentary" rubric: "Russia on the Map of Karabakh"]

[Text] The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's refusal to support the U.S.-Russian-Turkish peace initiative is reminiscent of the Bosnian Serbs' spurning of the Vance-Owen plan.

The Bosnian Serbs, however, have a Damoclean sword of military intervention by the UN joint armed forces suspended over their heads. For the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh, like for other ethnic minorities in the "hot spots" of the former USSR, this threat hardly looks realistic. There are weighty reasons for this. So, the agreement between Boris Yeltsin and George Bush of January 1993 effectively gave Russia the functions of a gendarme on the territory of the CIS. Precisely at that time it became clear that the "blue helmets," after they stumbled over Yugoslavia, would not enter the former Soviet Union. Hence, the reckless tactic of Nagorno-Karabakh, which has gambled on the use of force.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] said "No!" this time only because it has military and technical superiority and wields political clout: arms, oil, Armenian credits granted via Russia. In this permanent confrontation, a militarized state has effectively been set up in Stepanakert. This is entirely in line with the interests of Moscow generals, who would prefer to retain their influence on both Azerbaijan and Armenia. Stepanakert's intransigence has paid off: A Nagorno-Karabakh delegation has been invited to attend the next round of the CSCE-sponsored talks on 6 June, albeit without the right to vote.

Karabakh showed its independence in the events particularly vividly during the hostilities around Kelbadzhar. Both the NKR and Armenia justified that action as having being dictated by "military necessity." As a result, a part of Azerbaijani territory was annexed that is no part of Karabakh.

It was precisely in that situation, however, that Russia's reliance on the military power of Karabakh turned out to be a political miscalculation. The world's sympathy with the Armenians of the NKR was lost. And after the UN Security Council passed a resolution demanding the withdrawal of "ethnic Armenian forces" from the Kelbadzhar area, Armenia's economic blockade was supplemented by a geopolitical blockade of both Armenia and Karabakh.

Russia has reacted to the UN resolution by accelerating the Russian-U.S.-Turkish initiative, which enabled it to

remain active in the conflict area. Karabakh's response came as a surprise for it. The i's have been dotted: The NKR has turned into an independent political entity, and others, including Russia, have to cope with.

Meanwhile, this consequence of Russia's reliance on force could have been easily predicted. Both the NKR and Armenia (even at an earlier stage of the conflict) put themselves in opposition to many. Their immediate neighbor—Turkey, which took a step forward to meet them halfway—was spurned. Iran, after two failed peace missions, gave up diplomatic efforts to influence Armenian-Azerbaijani relations. The CSCE has pointedly emphasized the humanitarian nature of its mission in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Russia's policy aimed at maintaining its influence on Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the NKR has been a dismal failure. This was again confirmed not only by the thwarted peace initiative, but also by a death sentence passed on five Russian servicemen by the Azerbaijani military prosecutor's office. (The NKR has responded that should the prisoners of war be shot by firing squad, it will execute all its Azerbaijani prisoners.)

What is in store are yet new complications. The unrecognized NKR is beginning to make serious efforts to acquire a status exclusive of either Azerbaijan or Armenia. The inactivity of international organizations and Russia's tacit consent are pushing Nagorno-Karabakh toward this goal.

GRU Sets Up in CIS States; 50-Percent Downsizing Mandated

MK0406105693 Moscow NOVAYA

YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 9, 4-11 Jun 93 (signed to press 2 Jun) p 1

[Unattributed commentary by 'Sixth Floor' agency in the "Special Services" column: "Does Russia's Military Intelligence Service Operate in CIS Countries?"]

[Text] According to unofficial information obtained by our correspondent from the Main Intelligence Directorate (GRU) of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry General Staff, at least since the end of last year Russia's military intelligence began setting up intelligence networks [rezidentury] and planting its officers under the "umbrella" of Russian embassies and representative offices in certain CIS countries.

New assignments are being made primarily to the former USSR republics embroiled in armed conflicts and to countries bordering on them—the Transcaucasus and Central Asia.

Assessing the report that new destinations have appeared for GRU officers traveling abroad, one can come to the conclusion that the beginning of covert operations by military intelligence in the countries that are allies only

formally, affords further proof for a thesis in Russia's draft military doctrine about emphasis being shifted toward local conflicts.

According to our information, as early as January 1993 President Yeltsin signed an edict on reducing the GRU staff by 50 percent. It is not excluded that the president's decision was based on the parliamentarians' "special opinion." In accordance with the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium directive at the end of 1992 and the beginning of 1993, a parliamentary commission worked in GRU headquarters in Moscow to look into the special services' activity (during the past year this commission already checked on the activity of the Russian Federation Security Ministry and the Foreign Intelligence Service). On 9 February at an expanded session of two parliamentary committees, the commission's general conclusions were made known to senior officials of the Russian special services who were invited to the session.

There were no official reports as to what specifically was discussed at the session, which was closed to the press, and what tasks the intelligence officers were given. One of the meeting's participants, however, informally confirmed to the 'Sixth Floor' agency that a reduction in the size of special services was inevitable and that this would primarily affect foreign-based residents, including GRU officers.

To the GRU itself the president's edict and the parliamentary commission's conclusions came as a total surprise. "The arguments about the impossibility of financing intelligence operations are simply inconsistent," a GRU official told our correspondent. "Our organization could, if necessary, easily switch over to operating on a self-financing basis—with the facilities of its foreign firms and scientific-technical intelligence agencies" (industrial espionage).

Up to now the GRU is considered to be one of the world's largest and most powerful secret services, although after August 1991 the organization went through a hectic period of cadre reshuffles. Over less than a year, from October 1991 to September 1992, the chair of the military intelligence chief has been occupied by three generals—Vladlen Mikhaylov, who headed the GRU since 1986; Yevgeniy Timokhin; and Fedor Ladygin, the directorate's current chief.

Nonetheless, Russia's secret services, while going through cadre and ideological changes, are not changing their aims—to be the state's "eyes" and "ears," warning in time about an external threat and, possibly, averting it.

With the world's geopolitical situation changing, the Russian Army, in contrast to the Soviet Armed Forces, does not consider any foreign state to be its enemy. Nevertheless, with the ending of confrontation with the NATO member countries, there is an increasing threat of Russia's being dragged into the numerous armed conflicts that have embroiled the former USSR countries bordering on it.

Therefore it appears quite logical for military intelligence officers to "shift" their attention from the traditional spheres of interests in "distant foreign lands" to the young states that have emerged on the ruins of the USSR.

EBRD To Assist Privatized Enterprises

LD0306144193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1404 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By unidentified BUSINESS TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) has moved to set up in different parts of Russia special funds to render assistance to the most promising enterprises after their privatisation.

"This initiative," Peter Stredder, chief banker of the EBRD Privatisation Department, told ITAR-TASS during an exclusive interview, "was discussed this week in Moscow by Russian Vice-Premiers Chubays and Fedorov and representatives of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It will be submitted to the G-7 summit, scheduled to be held in Tokyo this July.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has not decided yet on the regions, where such funds are to be set up, but, according to Stredder, the beginning will most probably be laid shortly in Smolensk region, where much preparatory work has already been done to assess the project's prospects.

"Privatisation in Russia is not our only goal, for the sake of which we are working," Stredder noted. "This is the beginning of a large project to create every necessary condition for a country to switch over to a free market economy. In light of this, the EBRD deems it important to render the necessary aid not only during the privatisation process, but after it too, so that privatised enterprises could make full use of the advantages, offered by the new form of ownership."

"After the privatisation process gains momentum in Russia and embraces a maximum number of enterprises, it will be possible to get down to the direct investment of money in concrete projects on a commercial basis," Stredder said. He noted that the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development did not deem it proper to invest in operating state-run enterprises in Russia, because, as distinct from private establishments, state property is not the best basis, which enterprises could develop to guarantee successful operation in market conditions."

Continuing its efforts to promote the privatisation process, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development is getting down to concrete consultations, needed by privatised enterprises to draw up development business plans, to streamline their management and accounting in keeping with market requirements.

It is planned to eventually examine the possibility of investments to expand production and modernise enterprises on the basis of approved business plans, which could contribute to the objective assessment of their future prospects.

Security Ministry Signs Accords With Foreign Services

LD0206222993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1644 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondent Valeriy Litvinenko]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 2 Jun—Allegations made in the media and by leaders of some political parties about the Russian security services selling off our country under the cover of their cooperation with special services of other countries do not correspond to reality. Lieutenant General Vladimir Bondarenko, head of the Ministry of Security apparatus, stressed this today at a meeting with journalists.

The Ministry of Security has recently signed agreements with the security services of Turkey, Greece, Poland, China, and other foreign countries and the former USSR republics on the coordination of efforts in fighting international crime, terrorism, and the unsanctioned proliferation of nuclear and conventional weapons, fissionable materials, and narcotics. Cooperation with these countries is being conducted strictly within the framework of the signed agreements and is not directed against the third countries.

The efficiency of such cooperation is being demonstrated in such cases as the recent operation on exposing an international criminal organization that manufactured counterfeit U.S. dollars. Only with the help of the Russian information sources could the Italian special services destroy four underground printing presses that were flooding the whole of western Europe with counterfeit U.S. dollars. [passage omitted]

The increasing cooperation between the Russian Security Ministry and security services of foreign countries does not mean in any way that issues of national security and the fight against subversive activities of foreign intelligence services that are still active on the Russian territory are taking the second place, Gen. Bondarenko concluded. "National priorities have always been and will remain the cornerstone of the Ministry of Security's work", he stressed.

Constitution Issues

Rumyantsev: Deputies May 'Walk Out' of Conference

LD0306172593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Sergey Omelchenko; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Constitutional Commission Chairman Oleg Rumyantsev told a news conference today that the forthcoming Constitutional Conference should amalgamate the best features of the existing drafts of the constitution and arrive at an agreed version. [Video shows Rumyantsev addressing news conference]

[Begin Rumyantsev recording] Not a single republic, kray, or oblast soviet has decided to accept the presidential draft as a basis. In other words, it would be a confrontation engineered by the presidential side if it were to continue insisting that the Constitutional Conference confine its work to the presidential version. [end recording]

The Constitutional Commission also proposed procedures for adoption of the new constitution. The main provisions of the unified draft should be agreed by 30 June. Three months of nationwide debate would then follow, and another month for the finalization of the text. On 17 November the draft should be presented to the Congress on behalf of the Constitutional Commission, the president, the subjects of the Federation, and all those who took part in the agreeing of the draft, so that it is seen to be a joint legislative initiative. Such a draft, Rumyantsev believes, would not be rejected by the Congress, but if such a thing were to happen, the Congress should be asked to adopt a law on elections to a constitutional assembly.

Returning to the forthcoming constitutional conference, Rumyantsev stressed that it was only one of a number of similar measures. He will personally try to attend them all. The group of deputies attending the conference opening 5 June will be headed by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, but:

[Begin Rumyantsev recording] The group of deputies and the group of regional representatives will walk out of the Constitutional Conference if the views of those who wish to harmonize various positions are forcibly suppressed. [end recording]

Further Rumyantsev Comment

PM0406142593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jun 93 p 2

[Interview with Oleg Rumyantsev, responsible secretary of the Constitutional Commission, by correspondent Boris Slavin under "Constitutional Matters" rubric; place and date not given: "No Need for Pyrrhic Victory,

Constitutional Commission Responsible Secretary Oleg Rumyantsev Answers PRAVDA Correspondent's Questions"]

[Text] [Slavin] Oleg Germanovich, I once asked you the following question: Won't your draft constitution share the same fate as Yavlinskiy's "500 Days" program? What would be your answer now?

[Rumyantsev] My prediction is this. Sooner or later Russia will obtain a Constitution that the Constitutional Commission has drafted. As for now, I do not know whether we will be able to "win a victory." B. Yeltsin loves to win victories, but they are generally Pyrrhic victories.

[Slavin] What is your opinion of the Constitutional Conference the president has scheduled for 5 June?

[Rumyantsev] I do not know what all the fuss is about. In actual fact the Constitutional Commission is working systematically on the draft of a new Constitution, as are lawyers from the regions; it has already taken into consideration 22 norms contained in the presidential draft, etc. We are setting an example of amicability here. The work carried out by the conference of soviets of all levels 1 June is logical in this respect. Our task is to prevent the corps of deputies from collapsing before November, before new elections.

[Slavin] Are attempts being made to bring about the decline of the corps of deputies?

[Rumyantsev] Of course. S. Filatov, for instance, opened a meeting with deputies in Moscow Oblast by saying bluntly: We will help deputies settle material and domestic issues....

Shakhray: Opposition Wants Constitutional Process Ended

LD0306204293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Shakhray] The thing that matters most to the so-called opposition at the moment is not the difference between the drafts of the constitution and not the content of the future constitution, but how to upset or slow down this process at all costs.

[Correspondent] The constitutional process?

[Shakhray] In order to eventually stop the constitutional process altogether. I am an optimist, however, and I think that the constitutional conference has long-term and short-term targets [zadachi maksimum i zadachi minimum].

The short-term task is working in a concerted way on a single text, bringing the positions of the main political

forces and the subjects of the Russian Federation closer together, as well as discussing the procedure for adopting the constitution of the Russian Federation, the law on elections, and a possible date for elections. All this will have to be discussed at the conference.

Zorkin Hopes Conference Will Reach 'Consensus'

LD0406105393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1036 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—Russia's Constitutional Court chief Valeriy Zorkin backed in principle the idea of holding a Constitutional Assembly. He told reporters that he "will attend the assembly, convening on Saturday [5 June], if it has a consultative status and is within the constitution framework".

Zorkin told reporters on Friday he hoped that "the assembly will result in a consensus which would allow to go ahead with reforms on the basis of national concord".

Khasbulatov Talks to Journalists on Constitution

PM0406143993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

["Press Conference" report by Aleksandr Linkov: "Tell The Truth, No Matter How Unpalatable"]

[Text] On 31 May there was a meeting at the White House between journalists accredited to parliament and Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. Opening it, R. Khasbulatov briefly gave his impressions of the meetings that took place during his recent trips around the country. He said that people were voicing serious concern over the absence of extensive information on the activities of the Supreme Soviet. The dissatisfaction is due to the fact that there is a predominantly negative atmosphere in the media and questions of culture and morality have disappeared for some reason. People are simply tired as a result of the heavy psychological pressure.

The Supreme Soviet head's brief speech was followed by a major discussion comprising journalists' questions and R. Khasbulatov's detailed replies. Naturally, it centered on the topic of the moment—the ongoing constitutional processes. In particular, R. Khasbulatov reckons that the upcoming constitutional assembly, convened by the Russian president, will fail to arrive at any single draft new Basic Law. What we are seeing is an obviously presidential form of rule. It exists even now in the country, and the proposed draft will merely strengthen it. At the same time, he is convinced that the conference should be no more than consultative.

Concerning his recent proposal on a referendum on the draft constitutions, the Supreme Soviet chairman noted that it would be a realistic reflection of the current situation in society. There are forces that support the

president, there is a centrist movement, and a powerful group has now been formed which firmly supports socialist ideals. If we call ourselves democrats, then everyone must be given the chance to express himself publicly, R. Khasbulatov believes. Particularly as during his recent trip he was repeatedly told that a referendum was needed in order to adopt a new Constitution. In the provinces they are prepared to hold one.

Talking about the conference of deputies of all levels, which opened on 1 June, the head of parliament rejected the hasty description of it by some commentators as to all intents and purposes a congress. It is merely a scheduled event, which will mainly discuss local self-government issues. Naturally, constitutional questions will be touched on, but they are secondary.

Answering a question about the alleged split in the Supreme Soviet leadership, R. Khasbulatov reminded those present that differences have existed ever since the first Congress of People's Deputies. There is nothing terrible in that, and these things have to be treated more calmly. As for his rumored resignation, he could not take such a step at such a crucial time for Russia, because it would be treachery.

The journalists also wanted to know about the upcoming Congress of People's Deputies—will it take place, as planned, in June? The Supreme Soviet chairman pointed out that it was supposed to consider economic matters. But the government has not yet prepared a program and the relevant documents. And there is no point just getting people together again. This will be done when necessary.

During a conversation of more than 90 minutes R. Khasbulatov dwelt on some other problems as well, urging journalists always to tell the truth, no matter how unpalatable.

Official Favors Presidential Draft of New Constitution

LD0306124493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1226 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—"The establishment in Russia of a presidential republic in the modern democratic sense of the word, which embraces both parliamentarism and an independent judiciary, is envisaged by the draft of the new Russian constitution," corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences Sergey Alekseyev told ITAR-TASS today. He categorically disagrees with the advertised view that the new fundamental law is intended to establish an "authoritarian system, short of a monarchic regime".

A totalitarian regime presupposes the top leader's direct and unlimited power. "The presidential draft does not stipulate this," the jurist said. "It vests the president with the right to prevent anarchy, which engenders crises. The

new draft is to put an end to the period of dual executive power combined in the hands of the president and the government. It is planned that the executive branch of government will be headed by the premier and the cabinet. The president will become the head of state, whose principal functions will be to ensure the unity and integrity of the Russian Federation, to guarantee the observance of the constitution, to ensure human rights and liberties, and also the balance of the legislative and executive arms of government."

Alekseyev, who is a co-author of the draft of the new constitution, called attention to the fact that the problem of state power was being "solved on the basis of democracy". "We have opted for a democratic orientation and, simultaneously, for a strong and stable government". In his opinion, "a presidential republic is optimal in conditions of such a huge state as Russia".

The new constitution "puts an end to the totalitarian regime," the scientist stressed. It includes the "most important values of the civilised world—the basic human rights and liberties". The document draws on Andrey Sakharov's humane ideas, according to which the fundamental law should be understandable to every man and woman. The presidential draft is deideologised. "The new constitution has the purpose of achieving the world standards of political and legal culture," Alekseyev stated.

Alekseyev Views Human Rights in Constitution

PM0306135193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 2

[Article by Sergey Alekseyev, member of the Presidential Council and corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences: "The Sharp Edges of Freedom. Human Rights: Their Nature and Constitutional Status"]

[Excerpts] The drafting of the Russian Constitution has entered the homestretch. And there are, it seems, few people who doubt that the completion of the final, integrated document, which should incorporate all the positive elements from a number of constructive drafts (and this, I think, is the overriding task of the Constitutional Conference), will inevitably lead to the constitutional enshrinement of inalienable human rights and freedoms rather than general statements and declarations as a basic and fundamental part of the document. [passage omitted]

The point is that qualitative differences do really exist between the two groups of rights.

The first group comprises really inalienable, absolute, and inviolable human rights, rights which express the dignity and freedom of "everyone from birth" and oppose violence and tyranny—the right to life and inviolability of the person, freedom of conscience, freedom of thought and creativity, and a number of similar rights and freedoms.

However, there are "rights" of a different order, rights which are very important to people but which serve another purpose—the right to receive social welfare and housing from the state, the right to proper medical attention, and so forth. These are economic, social, and cultural rights which cannot by their very nature be absolute: They are inseparable from the duties of a citizen, depend on the country's economic situation, and basically express the aims, ideals, and purposes toward which society really or, more often, only in terms of declarations, aspires. [passage omitted]

What, then, is to be done about the proposals to include a whole range of "economic and social rights" in the integrated draft?

Necessary clarity must be introduced into this question. The point is that in preparing the "president's" draft many provisions of an economic and social order—questions of healthcare, housing, and labor—were taken into account. In so doing there "slipped in" a somewhat "socialist" provision not altogether harmonious with provisions about economic freedom—the thesis of equal pay for equal work (which immediately met with an angry response from one opponent who lost sight of the fact that such a thesis is linked with a norm disallowing job discrimination).

Clearly it is necessary to continue the work of considering all the positive elements contained in the official draft on the question of Russian citizens' economic and social rights. What we must do is avoid a mechanical combination of heterogeneous elements, the admission of incompatible provisions (generating paternalistic, authoritarian tendencies on the part of the state) and not forsake the most important thing—basic human rights and freedoms, which are the bases of economic freedom in society and of the democratic building of Russian statehood.

Pochinok Opposes Khasbulatov Referendum Proposal

LD0306123693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1224 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—"To put three draft constitutions to a referendum means to decide nothing," member of the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet Aleksandr Pochinok told ITAR-TASS today. He said he was surprised by this proposal, recently voiced by Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, "particularly because he himself had actively opposed Slobodkin-type drafts, had initiated many amendments to the old constitution". To discuss a new draft based on a socialist idea means to "return to the old system, which we have abandoned once and for all," Pochinok noted.

He is sure that the constitution should be adopted "only constitutionally". In his opinion "it would be perfect if

all the subjects of the federation were to sign it, if the new constitution was adopted by the congress and approved by a referendum. It is necessary to put aside ambitions and to work on a single draft," Pochinok, who prefers the presidential version, believes. "We must not give preference to this or that branch of government. This may trigger a war of authorities," he stressed. "There is no time for confrontation today," Pochinok stressed. This is why he went to Ruslan Khasbulatov on Monday [31 May] to tell him that "he was, apparently, wrong". In Pochinok's opinion, his colleague "had gone against progress and is trying to stop Russia's development". Pochinok recalled that he had "repeatedly emphasised his respect for Khasbulatov as a personality and a political leader, who had done much for Russia and democracy". The charges, which Pochinok expressed to the speaker, boiled down, he said, to the assertion that an "authoritarian style of work was shaping up within the Supreme Soviet". Not infrequently this was due to the "good intention to obtain concrete results, but even then," Pochinok is convinced, "it is necessary to reckon with the views of members of this collective body and not to persecute dissidence". He admitted that there were "people, who want to transform the Supreme Soviet into a party based on the principle of democratic centralism and obedience to the general line". In Pochinok's opinion, "people are being pressured within the parliament, frequently in a very vigorous manner".

Commenting on the stand of Nikolay Ryabov, vice-speaker of the Supreme Soviet, Pochinok said that he had "started to speak up honestly". In his opinion, there was a time when Ryabov made "apparently made-to-order statements, demanded from him by parliamentary discipline". Today, Pochinok believes, Ryabov has "revised his views and has decided to convince parliament members that this is necessary".

Sheynis Argues for 'Compromise' Constitution

PM0306194393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jun 93 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Viktor Sheynis, deputy executive secretary of the Constitutional Commission and member of the Supreme Soviet "Accord for Progress" faction, by Aleksandr Meshkov; place and date not given: "The Ideal Solution Is To Combine Both Drafts"]

[Text] [Meshkov] Viktor Leonidovich, you are known to be an influential member of the "Accord for Progress" parliamentary faction, which by and large supports the socioeconomic and political course pursued by the president and the executive. On the other hand, you are deputy executive secretary of the Constitutional Commission, which has for three years been doggedly working on and preparing the draft of a new Constitution. Then suddenly the president rejected this draft and offered society a new draft that was created behind the scenes...

[Sheynis] This is a purely political question... However, I became involved in politics by force of circumstance, I have spent the bulk of my life as an academic. Therefore I tried to view what happened to the draft of the new Constitution primarily as an analyst, that is, to detach myself as an architect of this document from myself as the object of my own study. Is it really that important who formulated the draft Constitution? The main thing is the extent to which it accords with current realities. But the president's move is nothing trivial of course...

[Meshkov] To put it mildly...

[Sheynis] I try to avoid being judgemental... It is no trivial matter if you bear in mind the fact that the president is indeed the chairman of the Constitutional Commission, in whose name the draft was published, and that he repeatedly expressed his agreement with its main ideas. Even, what is more, after the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies had sent the working group just over 20 amendments to the text. And they were almost all adopted.

Of course, I was interested by the presidential side's motivation. I think it was based on the parliamentary majority's reluctance to take certain objective realities into consideration and its actions (that came to light particularly during the referendum) flouting and insulting the president. Apparently, his entourage and Yeltsin himself formed the opinion that it is impossible to deal with a Supreme Soviet like that. So, a desire to "obtain" a different parliament and at the same reinforce presidential power is behind the appearance of the president's draft.

But, while being aware of this, I do however wonder how apt the president's draft is in essence, regardless of the political situation. And at this point I am forced to acknowledge that although this document does contain a whole set of provisions that distinguish it favorably from the Constitutional Commission's draft, I cannot agree with a whole number of other provisions. The method used by the presidential side to formulate the Constitution also gives rise to doubt. The emphatic orientation toward regional power structures is particularly troubling.

Sergey Shakhrai recently compared in his statement the legitimacy of three components of the political process. These being the president, whose legitimacy was enhanced by the referendum (I can agree with that although it by no means follows that the president as a result received additional—constituent—functions); the Congress, which no longer—since the referendum—has the legitimate right to adopt a new Constitution on its own [yedinolichno] (and I could agree with that albeit with reservations); and also the authorities of the components of the Federation, whose legitimacy, according to Shakhrai, exceeds that of Congress deputies. Why? Were their representative organs elected differently, at a different time, and not in accordance with the same Election Law?

In my view, "involving" the components of the Federation is an opportunist [konyunkturnyy] step. It means that groups of politicians representing the regions will receive additional rights. That is a very dangerous road for Russia's integrity.

[Meshkov] Don't you think that these tactics represent a kind of reaction on the part of the presidential side to the unfavorable referendum results in the former autonomous formations and their leaders' negative stance to the presidential draft?

[Sheynis] But then it makes even less sense for the president to make additional moves toward those participants in the political process who did not support you once upon a time...

I am alarmed that in his draft the president made a whole series of concessions to the former autonomous entities' insistent demands. Our commission repulsed these attacks in the past. The president's version incorporates the Federation Treaty in the text of the draft. I can argue for a long time about the sense of including in the text of the Fundamental Law three largely repetitious texts. Yet people are worried about the "brevity" of the country's Fundamental Law!

That, however, is not the main issue. Several days ago a representative of Tatarstan spoke in the Supreme Soviet, saying that the Federation Treaty has revealed Russia's transformation into a treaty-based federation.

What is a treaty-based federation? That phenomenon does not exist anywhere in the world.

There are treaty-based confederations, there are treaty-based alliance of states. And there are constitutional federations. And that is understandable. Since a federation entails a constitutional system. The Constitution must presuppose that the will of the whole Russian people is the source of legitimacy, not some agreement that the regions have concluded among themselves. Is the Russian state founding itself from scratch, as it were?!

Nor can I understand why in the presidential draft the former autonomous formations and national formations ended up "more equal," as G. Orwell would have said, compared with the other components of the Federation. The Constitutional Commission working group did not agree with the proposals for one of the chambers of parliament to be formed on a parity basis with half of the seats going to the national formations, which account for 14 percent of the Federation's population, the other half going to krais and oblasts, where 86 percent of the population live. The presidential side's draft proposes expansively handing half the seats in the Federation Council to national formations. Those are some of the provisions of the new draft with which I cannot agree.

However, I am drawn, strange as it may seem, by the idea enshrined in it of the president's being able to dissolve the parliament. At one time when I upheld in

the Constitutional Commission the parliament's right to dismiss not only individual members of the Cabinet of Ministers, but also the whole government, I met with the reasonable objection: In countries where that practice is current, the president has the right to dissolve the parliament. In the Shakhray-Alekseyev draft the president received that right. But it was worded so vaguely that I did not support it.

[Meshkov] Was it like Napoleon's Constitution: "Write vaguely and concisely"?

[Sheynis] Not at all. It was concise, but fairly clear. The president can dissolve the parliament at his own discretion in an acute political crisis.

[Meshkov] But what if political crises recur frequently in Russia and this sword is constantly hanging over the parliament?

[Sheynis] The president must of course be given the right to dissolve the parliament. This is necessary to ensure that the latter does not "go too far," to ensure that, in view of the complex problems involved in the day-to-day governance of the country, the tasks facing the executive are understood. But this right must undoubtedly be limited. For instance, in the Constitution of the French Republic the president can only make that decision after the parliament has been at work for a year.

[Meshkov] The powers that the French Constitution granted President de Gaulle in 1958 are often compared with the Russian president's powers in the Shakhray-Alekseyev draft. However, the latter exceeded those that the French people granted the founder of the Fifth Republic. For instance, De Gaulle had the power to disband the parliament after consultations with the prime minister and the presidents of the chambers. In our country the president under the new draft can do this without consultations...

[Sheynis] But in the current situation Yeltsin cannot dissolve the parliament even after consultations.

[Meshkov] In the current situation that is true. But what about the draft. Say the parliament does not approve on several occasions in succession the chairman of the government, the leaders of judicial bodies, the general prosecutor, or the head of the Central Bank, isn't that reason to dissolve the "recalcitrants"? Don't you think this is dangerous in a country with an authoritarian past?

[Sheynis] I agree that in a number of cases the presidential draft goes further than the one prepared for De Gaulle. I think that it will nonetheless prove possible to reach agreement with the president and make these provisions look reasonable.

But I would like to point out two things here. When I look at the conflict between the president and the corps of deputies, my sympathies are with the former.

The parliament has indeed adopted a number of important laws and made necessary changes to the current

constitution. Of course, I want the parliament to be able to monitor the appointment of top officials, dismiss the government, etc. But if you ask me whether I want Foreign Minister Kozyrev, so unloved by a well-known group of deputies, to appear before the current parliament to get the "go-ahead" to be appointed to this post, I would say "no." An unqualified parliament sometimes interferes in foreign policy affairs and adopts incompetent decisions.

[Meshkov] Don't you believe that it was these considerations of "political expediency" that guided the authors of the presidential draft constitution in "tailoring" it to suit a certain individual—Yeltsin. And what would happen if Zhirinovskiy or any other unpredictable politician were to find themselves in this post?

You know that in the past in Germany President Hindenburg availed himself of the right to dissolve the parliament so as to bring Hitler to power. And certain political scientists are drawing analogies between the Weimar Republic of the time and Russia today...

[Sheynis] I would not like to look like a man who defends an illegal political practice out of "political expediency. I am not in favor of going beyond the Constitution, even one that I view critically. I did advise Yeltsin in the past not to have parliament approve key ministers because the country's Fundamental Law made no provision for that at the time.

Of course, the Constitution must not be "tailored" to fit a specific individual. It is extremely dangerous if a person who does not espouse democratic values enjoys special powers... There is undeniably a soupcon of political expediency in the presidential draft. Although not as much as some of its vehement critics are saying. I hope that the "synthetized" draft that will be formulated once the two draft Constitutions have been combined will not have that shortcoming.

[Meshkov] Do you think that the Constitutional Conference convened by the president can "produce" such a draft?

[Sheynis] My experience shows that a few hundred men are good for a rally but not to decide important matters of state and not for working with documents. Especially since the presence at the Constitutional Conference of hateful political figures—and there will evidently be plenty of them—does not dispose one to optimistic forecasts.

The ideal solution would be as follows: If the kind of moderate majority were to take shape at the Constitutional Conference that concluded that the two draft Constitutions should be combined, the conference could form a working group for this purpose to work productively on combining both versions and preparing the text of a draft constitution. In that case the Constitutional Conference would have performed its task. However, I

have little hope of that, although my political friends and I are doing everything we can to ensure that this happens...

[Meshkov] What is to be done if the conference does not produce a compromise version of the Constitution?

[Sheynis] If that proves impossible, a minimum-program should be implemented at least—namely, certain urgent documents capable of extricating the country from the political deadlock should be adopted. I am referring to a constitutional law on supreme organs of state power that could be presented as a law on addenda and amendments to the current constitution. This law would primarily eliminate the two-tiered structure of the supreme legislative organ, abolish the Congress, enshrine a professional parliament, and clarify relations between the president, the government, and it. Then a new election law is needed, incorporating at least elements of a proportional system of voting based on lists from political parties or their associations. Our working group has just submitted the draft of such a law to the Supreme Soviet. And finally a law on political parties. If these laws are adopted, we could embark on new multiparty elections.

[Meshkov] The parliament's critics are voicing doubts as to its ability to adopt "progressive" laws...

[Sheynis] There are two ways of adopting them—by parliament or by referendum. If the first fails, there is always the second...

Legislator Sokolov on Draft Constitutions

MK0406094493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jun 93 p 1

[Interview with V.S. Sokolov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Republic, by Anna Krayevskaya, under "Parliament" rubric; place and date not given: "'The Current Constitution Is in Many Respects Superior to Both Drafts,' Thinks Veniamin Sokolov, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Republic"]

[Text] [Krayevskaya] Veniamin Sergeyevich, from your point of view, how useful was the conference of deputies at all levels?

[Sokolov] It has become clear that the deputies are virtually unanimous on the need to stay within the constitutional framework in developing a new constitution. Very many of them realize that this problem is artificial, that the intentions to adopt the constitution quickly are not backed up by anything except by purely political motives. In addition, the results of a comparative analysis of the two drafts and the existing constitution show that the Fundamental Law that we have now surpasses the proposed drafts in many respects. In this respect the conference has confirmed the opinion of many members of the Supreme Soviet.

[Krayevskaya] Is there any possibility of tough [voleyvye] actions on the part of the Supreme Soviet prior to the opening of the constitutional conference on 5 June?

[Sokolov] One should not be afraid of this conference: It is consultative, and moreover one should bear in mind that supporters of the presidential draft have already somewhat moderated their position. At any rate, speaking in St. Petersburg, Vice Premier Sergey Shakhrai observed that the congress should also take part in adopting the constitution....

[Krayevskaya] Nonetheless, as the chairman believes, the president could sign an edict on the constituent assembly in order to pass the constitution?

[Sokolov] The realization of this possibility is in question since after all we remain deputies; our powers have been confirmed by the referendum, and we retain the right to apply respective articles of the constitution to a person who has obviously violated law and order, and the Constitution.

[Krayevskaya] Are you going to take part in the constitutional conference?

[Sokolov] Probably not, since I am not an expert on law.

[Krayevskaya] Maybe the present constitution is good enough for the time being?

[Sokolov] I meet with many business people, including domestic entrepreneurs and economists, and they never raise the question of the constitution. The laws, tax, tariff, and customs policy—this is what, in their opinion, calls for serious restructuring, but there is no need to have a new constitution for that.

[Krayevskaya] What do you think about early elections of deputies?

[Sokolov] From a formally legal point of view, this problem does not exist. The referendum has confirmed the powers of the president and the deputies. And from a practical point of view, I think that if early elections are held, then do so no earlier than in a year, so that there is enough time to prepare them well. Although, generally speaking, I believe that this is not necessary since the deputy corps has already taken shape. There are, however, proposals for reorganizing the present Supreme Soviet as a bicameral parliament. This could be done by institutionalizing the entire congress as the Supreme Soviet.

Then there is also an idea of reorganizing the Supreme Soviet as a bicameral parliament without a presidium. But for purely organizational reasons, it is impossible to abolish the presidium now. The present Soviet of Nationalities and the Soviet of the Republic are equal bodies. For the apparatus to operate it is necessary that there be a superior body, and then the question arises: Who would that be? On these grounds the interests of the

Federation's components will inevitably come into conflict. If an upper chamber is created, immediately the problem will arise of how the Federation's components should be represented in it. To carry out the restructuring very serious preparatory work is called for, and only the congress must adopt the corresponding law revising the functions, composition, and powers of parliament. If this work were to begin now, it would take at least half a year to accomplish it.

[Krayevskaya] But the congress is divided. How can it possibly be reorganized from within? The latest events have also shown that the presidium, too, is divided.

[Sokolov] What do you mean the congress is divided? The British Parliament passes many decisions by a majority of just one or two votes. Can it be said that it is divided?

[Krayevskaya] If decisions are passed, that means that there is no division....

[Sokolov] Far from all decisions are being passed; they institute special hearings, and questions are postponed many times. There is nothing terrible about that. Our congress and the distribution of votes in it accurately reflect the distribution of votes in the referendum, a kind of split in society. As for the presidium, very often the mere fact that there is no unanimity is being presented as a split, but then we would have no unanimity by definition....

[Krayevskaya] What other possible options do you see for reforming parliament from within?

[Sokolov] The formal structure will remain as it is at least until the end of the year. At present we are concentrating on internal problems, on raising efficiency, and overcoming the authoritarian, essentially bureaucratic style of operation. The largest possible number of deputies should be involved in this work. This restructuring is under way, and Khasbulatov should be given credit for occupying a very high-profile position here.

Court Chairman Backs Yeltsin's Judicial Proposals

PM0306135093 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "We Support the President's Idea—Veniamin Yakovlev, Chairman of the Russian Federation Superior Arbitration Court"]

[Text] We support the idea envisaged in the president's draft Constitution of setting up a Superior Judicial Office which would unite the three branches of judicial power.

At the same time the powers of this body should, in my view, be clarified. They should, I believe, be defined on the following basis. The Office would deal with matters which do not come under the jurisdiction of any one of

the superior courts. These include, in particular, the interpretation of the Constitution and the demarcation of the jurisdiction of disputes between various branches of the judicial power in the event of disagreements arising on this matter.

At the same time the examination of cases relating to the constitutionality of judicial practice would be excluded from the powers of the Superior Judicial Office. After all, the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, and the Superior Arbitration Court are the superior judicial organs in their respective spheres, and no other organ has the right to repeal their decisions.

Lawyer Criticizes Upcoming Constitution Debates

LD0306220593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1706
GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—Andrey Makarov, a prominent Russian lawyer and a high-profile public figure, believes none of the proposed procedures for adopting a new Russian constitution is acceptable.

He said so on Thursday [3 June] addressing a meeting at the Moscow-based International Press Club.

According to Makarov, the intention to hold a referendum on the new constitution is tantamount to the socialist utopian assertion that "Every cook can govern a state".

Makarov echoed the Russian president's conviction that the Congress of People's Deputies will not adopt the constitution. Moreover, in his opinion, "the congress does not have a moral right to adopt it," he said.

Makarov is convinced that the present time, when Russian society is overburdened with political tensions, is not ripe for the adoption of a constitution in principle.

"Whichever draft constitution is adopted at this juncture, it will conform to the interests of concrete politicians, and those interests have always been momentary," he said.

Nevertheless, Makarov prefers the presidential draft constitution, because "it has been more professionally prepared".

Lukyanov Ban From Constitution Forum Challenged

PM0306150593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Jun 93 p 2

[N. Garifullina report: "President Refusing, Baburin Insisting"]

[Text] The Russian National Union [RNU] conference has appointed Anatoliy Lukyanov as its official representative to the Constitutional Conference, but I.A.

Kharichev, assistant to the head of the Russian Federation President's Administration, informed RNU Board Chairman Sergey Baburin 31 May that Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov could not be included in the conference. The explanation for this refusal was that, as a defendant in the State Committee for the State of Emergency case, he would have to appear in court under Article 246 of the Russian Federation Code of Criminal Procedure, and that, under the provision on the Constitutional Conference—which is yet to be ratified by the Russian Federation president—the conference will be in permanent session until it closes. Touching concern for Lukyanov is shown nonetheless. "In the event of a failure to appear... in court on the pretext of involvement in the Constitutional Conference, the court would be forced to adjourn the case (Article 247 of the Russian Federation Code of Criminal Procedure), which is one of the grounds for the measure to secure A.I. Lukyanov's appearance—namely, that there are grounds to believe that the defendant is impeding the process of establishing the truth in this criminal case (Article 89 of the Russian Federation Code of Criminal Procedure)."

While showing an enviable knowledge of the Code of Criminal Procedure, the esteemed President's Administration staffer displayed a strange ignorance of the state and progress of this notorious criminal trial. As is well known, it was suspended 18 May. The military collegium determined that any further examination of the case was impossible before the real independence of the state prosecutors had been established. In short, nobody can say when the trial will resume. Consequently, the references by the representative of the President's Administration to a trial which Lukyanov would have to attend are groundless.

Sergey Baburin, member of the Supreme Soviet, member of the Constitutional Commission, and RNU Board chairman, sent a telegram to President Yeltsin 1 June. It states: "In our opinion, the reasons for the refusal are absolutely unconvincing from a legal standpoint and are aimed at preventing the appearance at the conference of persons whose views are those of the political opposition... We insist that Doctor of Juridical Sciences Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, the RNU representative, participate in the 5 June Constitutional Conference."

Political Issues

Shumeyko Chairs Regular Session of Government Presidium

LD0306120493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1131
GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—A regular session of the Presidium of the Russian Council of Ministers opened today under the chairmanship of First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko.

According to the agenda, it will discuss the draft state programme of the conversion of the arms-manufacturing industry for 1993-1995, the price policy for 1993-1994 and measures to be taken by the government to minimize social consequences of the streamlining of prices for oil products.

Price Committee Proposals Rejected

LD0306172093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Another session of the Russian Government's Presidium is taking place in Moscow today. I will ask our observer, Valeriy Kiosa, to report on the issues that are being discussed at the session. He is at the government building and has called our studio.

[Kiosa] Thank you. The most fundamental issue was examined at the session today. The development of the Russian economy within the next few months, in fact, depends on its solution. It is the issue of price policy. A report was made by Rozenova, chairwoman of the State Committee for Prices at the Ministry of the Economy. She proposed that a policy of state regulation of prices be introduced in 1993-94 in order to beat inflation—as she put it. Her proposals include: to continue to control prices with regard to the fuel and power-engineering complex, transport, agriculture, housing, and amenities—as well as in some other branches of the economy; and to introduce special taxes in order to compensate for the difference in prices—that is, to help some areas of the economy to live at the expense of others.

The department also proposed that the regions themselves be allowed to set price limits for a number of goods. Rozenova also believes it is necessary to introduce a special fixed ruble exchange rate and to restore a single state system of bodies in charge of price formation.

Listening to this list, many people can perhaps draw the following conclusion: that, in fact, an open call was voiced at today's government session—for the first time in 18 months—to return to far in the past.

Starting the discussion of this issue, First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko proposed that three fundamental issues be tackled during the discussion. First, what path is the Russian Government to choose: to free prices completely and immediately; to freeze prices; or to accept the option put forward by Rozenova? Is a special ruble-dollar exchange rate necessary? And, is a single system of price formation bodies necessary?

Having noted that almost all the speakers came out against the proposals of the State Committee for Prices, Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays described them as totally superficial, as belonging to yesterday, and as absolutely unacceptable. In his words, a special fixed ruble exchange rate, which would be used quite broadly but not in all spheres of the economy, contradicts all the main documents of the Russian Government. According

to Chubays, such a rate will inevitably lead to centralized subsidies and an en masse defection to the shadow economy.

I will add that several exchange rates will inevitably result in many enterprises trying to profit by the difference between these rates, something that spells the strengthening of protectionism and, therefore, the strengthening of corruption. Besides, in Chubays' view, the introduction of additional taxes is absolutely impossible in the Russian economy today. It will simply break down. Concluding his speech, Chubays described the proposals by the State Committee for Prices not simply as unworkable, but even harmful.

Deputy Prime Minister Fedorov agreed with this also. Many speakers stressed today, however, that it is high time to eventually clarify precisely what pricing policy the government—that is, the Russian state—intends to implement during the transition period. After all, this is most closely tied with credit policy, financial acts, anti-monopoly decisions—in a word, with the entire package of economic reforms.

As a result of the discussion that was uncommonly unanimous, I would like to stress, once again, that the government suggested that these proposals be reworked in the most radical way but agreed that it is necessary to finally sort things out regarding the pricing policy.

The State Committee for Prices' proposals had yet another result. It was proposed to revise the functions of the Committee and, possibly, on Fedorov's proposal, to transfer it from the Ministry of the Economy to the Ministry of Finance. Also, the Russian Government approved at the session today a state program for conversion of the defense industry for 1993-95, which is, in essence, a continuation of the program that has already been instituted. According to the document, expenses for the first year—that is, for 1993—amount to approximately 650 billion rubles [R]. It was mentioned at the session that financing remains the main problem. There will certainly not be enough funds for all programs; therefore, the most vital and necessary ones for the Russian economy will have to be singled out.

The session is continuing, but the two main issues have already been examined. That is all.

Rejects Special Ruble Exchange Rate

LD0306190193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1512 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—At its meeting today the Council of Ministers Presidium refused to give its consent for the introduction in 1993 of a special fixed exchange rate of the ruble at between 150 and 200 rubles for a U.S. dollar and for the introduction in the 1993-94 period of measures for the direct control of prices for the output of the fuel and energy complex, monopolist

enterprises and monopoly plants, transportation tariffs, the main foodstuffs, and of internal prices for imported output, trade, and supply surcharges for middlemen.

These proposals were put forward by Lira Rozenova, chairman of the Russian Federation Committee for Price Policy, in her report at the Presidium meeting which took place today under the chairmanship of First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko in the absence of Viktor Chernomyrdin who is on vacation in Sochi.

To all intents and purposes, today the government's Presidium took one of the most important decisions in the past half-year period: price policy determines the socioeconomic situation of the population and the fate of economic reforms in Russia. Moreover, one must not forget that it is precisely the free exchange rate of the ruble against the convertible currencies which is the very first condition for Russia being granted credits by the West and a criterium for the evaluation of the "market orientation" of the transformations in progress in our country.

Adopts 2-Year Defense Conversion Program

LD0306212993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1938 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—At its meeting today, the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation has adopted a state program for conversion of the defense-related industry of Russia for 1993-1995.

After some elaboration and taking due account of proposals and amendments voiced at today's meeting, the program will be submitted to the Supreme Soviet for approval.

Presenting a draft program, First Deputy Minister of Economics of the Russian Federation, Ivan Materov, stressed that "it is unrealistic to expect immediate and stunning results from the program, the results will manifest themselves when the conversion achieves a good pace of operation."

The 100-page text of the program which was distributed among participants in the meeting, says that the "main aim of the program is to carry out changing of specialization of production to the civil use and achieve the biggest effect in the most important lines of the development of the economy, and at the same time to retain at maximum the number of workers and use a production, scientific and technical potential for civil needs, with minimum expenditure."

Shakhray Says Rutskoy Tipped Off Corrupt Officials

LD0306183793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Deputy Prime Minister] Sergey Shakhray believes that the vice president has saved the bacon of least a hundred corrupt officials, according to a POST-FACTUM report on the vice prime minister's address at Moscow State University's Palace of Culture. Among other things Shakhray spoke about the drive against corruption. Shakhray said that Rutskoy's sensational revelations in parliament are not being corroborated. A specially convened commission is refuting the vice president's claims one by one. Rutskoy used unchecked data for political purposes. In doing so he undermined the very idea of a drive against corruption, Shakhray stressed. Furthermore, the vice president has given away information which could have been presented as evidence in court. Corrupt officials are entitled to feel thankful toward Aleksandr Rutskoy for his timely warning which will help them avoid prosecution, Sergey Shakhray believes.

Fedorov 'Carpeted' for Inaction on Student Grants

PM0306133793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 1

[Report by Vadim Gorshenin, leader of the "Vosmidesyatniki" youth club: "Will Students Strike?"; accompanied by unattributed postscript]

[Text] As PRAVDA has already reported, the spark which lit the forest fire was Boris Nikolayevich's referendum promises to increase the [student] grant to the level of the minimum wage and to give the students a daily supplement of 85 rubles [R] for food. We also reported that the size of the grant remains, just as before, equal to R1,800. Hence student unions have decided to organize an all-Russian protest action.

Recent events. First: On a letter signed by student unions Boris Yeltsin put the following official stamp: "Fedorov! Investigate and report within 24 hours." Second: The control administration has been instructed to monitor the fulfillment of the edict and establish the degree of responsibility of the officials through whose fault it is being sabotaged. Let us note for ourselves—the 24-hour deadline which the president gave to Minister Fedorov has elapsed, and the control administration should instead be monitoring the nonfulfillment of the edict. All this shows best of all the attitude of the president's entourage toward Boris Nikolayevich himself. Third: As we supposed, the capital's City Hall has banned the students from holding a protest action on Pushkin Square in Moscow 4 June.

And Meanwhile...

It has been reported from the president's apparatus that yesterday Fedorov was "carpeted." After a "couple of heated" words he again promised that students will have a new grant. One would like to believe it....

Yeltsin Greets Congress of Association of Cities

LD0406104593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has sent greetings to the participants in the first Congress of the Association of Cities which opens in Moscow today. This is reported by the president's press service.

The convening of this forum virtually coincides with the beginning of the Constitutional Conference, whose task is to complete the preparation of the new draft constitution of the Russian Federation, the greetings say. Today it is extremely important to know how the proposed constitutional principles are viewed in the provinces, to create an effective operating mechanism for the authorities, and to react promptly to issues which arise in Russian cities both large and small.

The new draft constitution assigns a significant role to local self-government, but self-sufficiency and self-government do not mean that the state authorities are abdicating responsibility for local problems. It is difficult for cities to get by, especially nowadays, without state support in a variety of forms, Boris Yeltsin noted. The president expressed hope that the Congress of the Association of Cities will work fruitfully and constructively on perfecting the concept of the development of self-government.

New Media Oversight Body To Replace Abolished Center

MK0306125693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 3 Jun 93 p 3

[Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko, Jr., report published under the "An Information Corporation Being Created" column: "Mikhail Poltoranin Will Not Be Left Without a Job"]

[Text] Last Friday [28 May] KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported that the Constitutional Court has deemed the Ninth Congress' decree on the abolition of the Federal Information Center as corresponding to the Fundamental Law. Mikhail Poltoranin, who headed the Center, has stated, however, that he still believes it is necessary to have an organization that would be engaged in providing ideological support for the executive branch. And the signs are that in the near term these functions will be assumed by a Russian Information Corporation, the creation of which was discussed yesterday at a meeting between Vladimir Volodin, Poltoranin's former deputy, and Sergey Filatov, the president's chief of staff.

In spite of the Constitutional Court decision on the abolition of the center, its employees continue to work: Mikhail Poltoranin, together with his colleagues, has proven to be morally ready for this turn of events. Moreover, the center's leadership has prepared a plan against this eventuality envisioning the creation on the foundations of the abolished center of an analogous structure—the Russian Information Corporation. This was recently confirmed officially by Sergey Yushenkov, one of the center's former directors. At the same time Vladimir Volodin, Poltoranin's deputy, has managed to discuss this question with Sergey Filatov, chief of the president's administration.

Meanwhile Ivan Bliznets, chief of the Press Ministry's legal department, noted in an interview with KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent that so far he does not know anything about this, except Sergey Yushenkov's words. However, the Russian Information Corporation—if it is created—will, according to Bliznets, also receive the status of a state organization, while its directors and employees will also engage in commercial activity.

To clarify the details about the reorganization of the former center KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent spoke with Sergey Yushenkov, who confirmed the existence of a plan to create the Russian Information Corporation. He did not, however, rule out other options for reforming the center. Yushenkov could not tell which particular option will be implemented but he thus defined the main tasks of the new organization: preservation of Russia's information space; formation of the economic foundations for the freedom of expression; and the destatization of the mass media organizations, primarily electronic media.

Yushenkov's latter point should apparently be taken to mean that the Russian Press Ministry and the new corporation have already divided the spheres of influence: The ministry will apparently continue to control the press, and the corporation will oversee radio and television, standing up to the Supreme Soviet's attempts to monopolize the airwaves.

Shokhin on Personality Clashes in Government

MK0306112093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 23, 6 Jun 93 (signed to press 1 Jun) p A4

[Unattributed commentary under "Quotation" column: "...I Have Many "Friends," Including Mikhail Nikiforovich Poltoranin, Who Are Trying To Do Everything To Kick Me out of the Government..."]

[Text] This was stated by Aleksandr Shokhin, deputy chairman of the Russian Government, on 28 May in an interview with the POSTFACTUM news agency. According to Shokhin, Mikhail Poltoranin "is snitching on him to the president" and the standoff between the two vice premiers "is proceeding on the verge of the penal code." That the man overseeing the mass media is short-tempered has long been an open secret. True, in the

past he demonstrated his temper in "ideological" disputes with the opposite camp, attacking primarily Russian Khasbulatov, and also Zyuganov, Umalatova, and others, whom he invariably described in no other terms than "political vagabonds." Now for the first time a conflict within "the camp of fellow thinkers" has surfaced. In actual fact, of course, such a camp ("the winners camp") exists only conditionally. Poltoranin represents in it an extreme radical wing, and Shokhin a moderate liberal wing inclined toward reasonable compromise. An analysis of Shokhin's conduct even over the past year shows what a standoffish position he has been holding, sometimes distancing himself even from Gaydar. Today he must be feeling uncomfortable among such vice premier colleagues as Soskovets, Zaveryukha, and Yarov on one hand, and the extremists in the president's immediate entourage on the other.

Shumeyko, Filatov Take Charge of Personnel Policy

MK0306110693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 3 Jun 93 p 9

[Mikhail Lashch report: "Shumeyko and Filatov To Take Charge of Personnel"]

[Text] Personnel policy in the upper echelon of the executive branch is assuming a special role in conditions of an economic crisis compounded by enmity between the branches over the constitution issue. In order to strengthen it, Boris Yeltsin is soon going to sign an edict "On Urgent Measures of Organization of the Civil Service." This was revealed at yesterday's roundtable for Russian and foreign journalists by First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko. Under the prepared draft edict, a new structure will be created within the president's administration—a council for personnel policy.

Vladimir Shumeyko, who observed during the roundtable that "personnel at the moment is selected with less care than I showed selecting foremen at my factory," was appointed to oversee personnel policy in executive structures right after the April referendum results had been summed up. According to KOMMERSANT-DAILY's information, work on the draft personnel policy edict was conducted by Vladimir Shumeyko in close contact with Sergey Filatov, head of the president's administration. This has an easy explanation—while the most tried and tested staffers are supposed to be in charge of personnel policy, the devotion to Boris Yeltsin of these two politicians has not been doubted to date by anyone.

The president's confidence in their utter devotion was again confirmed yesterday. As Shumeyko said, Boris Yeltsin is going to appoint both the drafters of the edict cochairmen of the council for personnel policy whose main objective would be to generate individual personnel-related proposals, and the overall concept of the personnel policy.

Both Shumeyko and Filatov (together with Viktor Chernomyrdin, Sergey Shakhrai, and Yuriy Yarov) are

known to have been appointed coordinators of groups for the time of the Constitutional Conference. Dealing yesterday with constitutional questions, Shumeyko once again stressed that the conference would be discussing the president's draft constitution alone, while the chapter on human rights may be expanded by inclusions from Rummyantsev's draft.

Gaydar's Enterprise Association Bracing for Elections

MK0406101093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 22, 4 Jun 93 (signed to press 3 Jun 93) p 2

[Mikhail Lantsman report: "Presentation of All-Russian Association of Privatized and Private Enterprises Held in Moscow. 'We Need A Professional, Pro-Market Parliament'"]

[Text] "Personnel reshuffles are unrealistic and unlikely to be useful given the current makeup of the government," said former Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, diplomatically denying rumors about his possible comeback at a press conference given 2 June on the occasion of the registration of his All-Russian Association of Privatized and Private Enterprises [ARAPPE]. According to Gaydar, currently two groups with varying approaches to the process of privatization and monetary policies have emerged in the government. The former prime minister criticized the actions of his own cabinet for inconsistent liberalism. "A lot of anti-entrepreneurial regulations have been passed." Yegor Gaydar thinks it a big mistake that oil product prices were not liberalized in January 1991, when the government had much more room for political maneuver. The reformers' indecisiveness led, in his view, to a situation where energy prices have turned into a constant source of inflationary pressure.

The fact that, aside from Yegor Gaydar, the association leadership includes Petr Filippov, head of the Analytical Center for Social-Economic Policies at the president's apparatus; and Aleksey Golovkov, former head of the government's apparatus, promises this entrepreneurial organization's high status and its closeness to the authorities. Therefore, it was only natural that the journalists were interested not so much in the internal goings-on in the association, but in the assessment by the press conference's participants of the economic and political situation in the country.

Yegor Gaydar spoke fairly approvingly of the agreement between the government and the Central Bank, but he pointed out that it would be difficult for both sides to implement it: The Central Bank will find it hard to keep the rate of preferential credits at a level not higher than 7 percent above a market interest rate; in turn, the government will be hard-pressed to cope with significant budget imbalances.

Among the priority measures required to strengthen the legislative framework of private enterprise, the former

prime minister mentioned the need to revoke anti-market articles in the Criminal Code, and to adopt a new Civil Code and the laws on joint-stock companies and on trusts.

Speaking at the association's constituent conference one month ago, Mr. Gaydar already defined the key area of ARAPPE's activity for the near future: civilized pressure on the incumbent legislature and active preparations for the upcoming elections. Petr Filippov translated this as follows: "We need a professional, pro-market, and anti-inflationary parliament, but the existing dwarfish political parties do not have palpable influence in society. Presently, the newly born owners should take the initiative in putting forward professional candidates and providing them with organizational and financial support."

ARAPPE does not seem to be bluffing. Merely a month after its inception, the association comprises around 60 regional organizations. The names of its leaders are also an important factor. If ARAPPE manages to win over the directors of more than 6,000 enterprises converted into joint-stock companies, liberal economists will have a formidable election bloc...

Economic Issues

'Text' of Yeltsin's Decree To Curb Inflation

LD0406135793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1339 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—Follows the text of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree to curb the inflation:

In order to curb the inflation, which depreciates real income of the population and enterprises, and create favourable conditions for investments in the economy and stabilization of the financial system, I resolute to:

1. Recognize as necessary for federal state power and management bodies of the Russian Federation to abstain from decisions, which lead to the increase of spending in budgets of all levels and state off-budget funds;

2. The Council of Ministers—the Government of the Russian Federation shall:

- within two weeks submit proposals on cancelling decisions adopted in 1993 by federal state power and management bodies, which lead to the increase of budget spending;

- provide for indexation of socially-important state spending, as well as spending that ensures the functioning of major economic sectors by the Russian ministry of Finance in the established order during specification of the republican budget of the Russian Federation for 1993;

- within two weeks submit proposals on possible increase of revenues of the republican budget of the Russian Federation;

3. Establish that additional allocations to the Russian ministries and departments to finance spending above that envisaged by the Russian law "on the republican budget of the Russian Federation for 1993" shall be done since August, 1993.

[Signed] Russian President Boris Yeltsin

[Dated] Moscow, Kremlin, June 3, 1993

Finance Minister Criticizes Committee on Prices

LD0406010893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Commenting today at a news conference on the discussion of the question of prices, Boris Federov, vice-premier of the Russian Federation and finance minister, stated that the methods of the Committee on Prices do not take into account the realities of the day and are essentially a retreat from the reforms.

Fedorov spoke out in favor of revising the functions of this committee. In his view, in the new conditions, the committee could combat manifestations of dishonest competition and gather data on the prices situation.

Government Aide Questions Privatization Policy

PM0306130793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 May 93 p 7

[Article by Mikhail Yuryev, member of the Russian Government's Industrial Policy Council, under "Opinion" rubric: "Outcast or Hero?"]

[Text] Mikhail Yuryev, member of the Russian Government's Industrial Policy Council, now talks about the problems of "large-scale privatization."

As already reported, as part of the consultation which the Russian President held before the referendum, Boris Yeltsin met with the leadership of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. The speakers noted that Russian industrialists and directors, while offering constructive criticism of individual aspects of industrial policy, on the whole support the President's line of deep reforms in the economy.

Mikhail Yuryev, one of the leaders of the Union of Industrialists and general director of the "Interprom" industrial group, knows about these problems not from mere hearsay. Back in 1989 his firm was the first in the then USSR to buy a plant—an animal feed additives plant in Belorussia, as it was then known. At that time the term "privatization" did not exist....

I had to obtain permission for the purchase from V. Kebich: He is head of the government now but at that time he was chairman of the republic's State Planning Committee, Yuryev said. And even though the sector's

ministry fought tooth and nail to prevent the plant's sale, Kebich gave the go-ahead, saying: You must double output within a year, increase it sixfold within five years or else we will take the plant back. That is what was written in the contract. The workers accepted that, by the way. Now, five years on, I can say that we have not only honored the commitment made in that document, we have doubled it, and furthermore expanded the output range. To this day I am sure that this was in some way a prototype of privatization even though I have bought several more plants since then.

Now, on the other hand, state property is simply being removed little by little—legally or illegally—and the country has gotten very little out of it so far. It is no wonder that the word "privatizer" has become almost a term of abuse....

Do people really think that ZIL, GAZ, VAZ, or any other industrial association which has become a joint-stock company with hundreds of thousands of shareholders is guaranteed against being plundered? The question is simple: Who is going to control the directors and check that they do not turn the plant into their own private kitty? Could it be the holders of vouchers invested in such an undertaking? They are hardly capable of exercising that control properly. Sometimes it seems to me that some ideologists of privatization hardly think beyond the next move in this chess game of privatization that has begun. The plan is not a very complex one: first it is all down to vouchers, then shares, then we will have to wait and see what comes next. But I think that this "what next" will become clear very soon. The massive flotation of shares means that capital is being spread very thinly, with the result that the controlling stake determining who really controls property will consist of just 5-10 percent of the shares.

What threat does this pose? I will tell you. The leader of an enterprise who owns such a small proportion of the shares has no need to invest all his efforts in his work or think about the plant's future, even less the well-being of the country. Ten percent of the dividend fund is peanuts, not real money at all. What you get instead is a great temptation to strip your "own" plant bare and switch the resources into your own pocket in order to open up an independent firm and, when the time is right, buy up the plant after it goes bankrupt. Incidentally, one of the worst options for the economy is the one in which enterprises are headed by the owners of a small proportion of the property or by those who have nothing to do with this property at all. Otherwise, if the "state directors" had been able to work efficiently there would have been no reason to embark on privatization in Russia, everything should have been left as it was.

But we know that in the West the largest firms are controlled by paid managers, the classic example of the prosperous Coca-Cola company is well known to everyone. The logic of it is clear: The owners of the property hire a talented production organizer and pay him well if the appropriate return is achieved.

But the present privatization campaign will not resolve that problem either. It has to be remembered that you cannot blindly copy foreign experience. It is a completely different world over there with generally accepted norms of business ethics that have existed a long time and with a "market in managers" with its own unwritten but mandatory laws: If you take what is not yours, you can expect that to be the end of your business career, you will not find another job, and to complain is useless. But in Russia everything is different: If you take a bit extra for yourself people say, well done, you are a sharp businessman!

It is no coincidence that in the United States a persistent tax evader very soon becomes an outcast in business circles whereas among Russian business circles he is a hero.... Incidentally, it should be pointed out that abroad they do not have so many open-type joint-stock companies: In Britain, for example, there are just 600. They occur naturally—at a stage in the development of the market when there is a shortage of capital and it is more advantageous to issue shares than take a loan from the bank. However, such companies are in any event less efficient than private enterprises under one-man leadership.

I believe that the idea of blanket flotation is doomed to inevitable political failure as well. The state can hardly expect Russians to be grateful for distributing scraps of state property to all and sundry. In fact the euphoria will last only until it is time to count the dividends.

Then the many thousands of latter-day Russian shareholders who expected a shower of gold will not even be showered with paper: Next year's profit has already been earmarked for accumulation funds, consumption funds, and so forth. There will be no surplus money left. Furthermore, throughout the world shares generate income when their value increases, that is, when production efficiency increases, something they forgot to mention among the tasks of privatization....

Formally speaking, all the promises made will be honored, state property will pass into the hands of owners of pieces of paper marked "shares." But essentially there will be no change. A share is not a symbol of the ownership of a plant but a token of a certain stage in the economy. That is why, it seems to me, in the future there is only one possible scenario: Ultimately the majority of the shares will be concentrated in the hands of major shareholders and major "one-man" private enterprises will grow up. But since we are moving toward that inexorably, shouldn't we start from that point right away?

However, it was decided to give people the groundless hope of making big money easily with no effort or risk—using vouchers invested in business. The speed of the development of real enterprise capable of dragging the national economy out of the deep crisis which has long been preventing people from living normal lives has been sacrificed for political effect. I am sure that while

political ambition prevails over the ideas of the real revival of industry it will not be possible to heal its many ills.

Free Trade Unions Express Support for Yeltsin

PM0406094593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jun 93 p 1

["Own information" report under the rubric "Constitutional Conference: Pro and Con": "Free Trade Unions Side With President"]

[Text] Yes, there are such bodies these days. Politically and organizationally they are not part of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FITUR].

They have documented their attitude to the Constitutional Conference. They have issued an official statement about their readiness to take part in the Constitutional Conference to be held at the president's initiative. The referendum has already shown that the free trade unions have made the right choice: The president's political line has prevailed. They will continue to support him, since they represent a force which is actively participating in the implementation of reform.

And, to ensure that the president is well aware of who his defenders are, they have listed themselves—the Russian Trade Union of Railroad Workers' Locomotive Brigades, the Russian Air Crew Association, the Confederation of Russian Trade Union Associations, the Mining and Metallurgical Industry Trade Union Central Committee, the Confederation of Free Trade Unions of the OPTK [expansion unknown] of the USSR, the Russian Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Federation of Air Traffic Controllers' Trade Unions, and the Independent Miners' Trade Union of Russia.

Military Issues

President's Office Denies Corruption in Western Army Group

LD0406141893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1335 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—Addressing a news conference on Friday [4 June], Aleksey Ilyushenko, control department head of the Russian president's office, said that the department found no corruption in the Western Army group deployed in Germany, about which Russian vice-president spoke in his speech at the Russian Parliament on April 16.

"There may be many violations there, but there are no facts of corruption," he noted. The department confirmed only two accusations from among more than 30 levelled by the vice-president at parliament.

These are violations in the activities of the international "Konversiya-Zhilye" concern and circumstances pertaining to the disposal of Russian property in Germany. The matter in question is the former Soviet House of Science and Culture in Berlin.

Journalists were told that materials received during the examination of the international concern's activities "will be handed over to the procurator's office which will determine the extent of concern executives' guilt".

According to executives of the control department who spoke at the news conference, the concern did not fulfill its task to create material and technical facilities to build housing for Russian troops being pulled out from Germany.

The examination also showed that concern executives leased production facilities to foreign firms for a ridiculously low rent.

Control department officials also believe that violations were committed in tackling property issues concerning the former Soviet House of Science and Culture.

Defense Officials Discuss Air Defense Forces, Army

LD0306130493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1123 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jun—The state of the Air Defense Forces and prospects for their future development with the reduction in the Armed Forces and the construction of the Russian Army were examined at a session of the collegium of the Russian Ministry of Defense today. Colonel General Viktor Prudnikov, commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces, delivered a report at the collegium.

The members of the collegium discussed and mapped out specific measures to further enhance the combat readiness of the Air Defense Forces with the goal of reliably defending Russia's air borders.

President Signs Edict on Transfer of DOSAAF Property

PM0306142393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 21

[Sergey Revtov report: "Russian Federation President Signs Edict 31 May on Former USSR DOSAAF Property on Russian Federation Territory"]

[Text] The Russian Federation president signed an edict 31 May regarding property of the former USSR DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] on Russian Federation territory. The document envisages the transfer to Russian Federation federal ownership of former USSR DOSAAF buildings, structures, material and technical facilities,

equipment, and other property located on Russian territory and funded by the state budget.

The Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property and its territorial agencies at local level, in conjunction with the Russian Federation Defense Ministry, have been tasked with examining the question of handing over on a contractual basis the former USSR DOSAAF educational stock and material base to public organizations registered in the Russian Federation whose statutes make provision for the task of training citizens in military-occupational specialties and sports with a military application.

Policy Council Stresses Need To Update Equipment

PM0306122993 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 3

[Valentin Rudenko report: "Army Must Be Supplied With Modern Equipment"]

[Text] The above problem was discussed at the first session of the Council on Military-Technical Policy.

KRSNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported that the Council on Military-Technical Policy was set up this February by order of the Russian Federation defense minister. It comprises over 100 leaders of prominent defense enterprises, design bureaus, and research institutes as well as Defense Ministry, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Ministry of Security representatives responsible for supplying troops with modern arms systems and combat hardware. This body held its first session last week. The gathering focused attention on troublesome areas for the defense complex—the implementation of defense orders this year and in the near future, funding for military programs, the need to improve the legal and normative base, etc.

The budget and finance question is perhaps the most acute of these issues. The meager funds allocated for defense are coming in extremely unevenly, there are delays with indexing these funds, and the indexing does not match the real level of inflation. The "military" ruble used in the system of defense enterprises currently carries 2-2.5 times less clout than the "industrial" or "commercial" ruble, rendering military orders economically unprofitable, so a report by Council Chairman, First Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin pointed out. If this distortion is not eliminated in the near future, all the efforts to preserve the defense industry could prove to be in vain.

The Council's top-priority tasks include shaping a long-term program for the qualitative improvement of arms and military hardware in line with the doctrinal directives and operational-strategic plans formulated by the General Staff. The priorities also include striving to achieve a military-technical head start, making extensive

use of the achievements of science and advanced technologies, and preserving and developing as far as possible the production and intellectual potential of enterprises, design bureaus, and research institutes in defense sectors of industry. Coordinating the interests and standpoints of state government structures and defense enterprises and enhancing the effectiveness of the use of appropriations allocated for the development and procurement of arms and combat hardware will be important elements of the council's work.

In Andrey Kokoshin's opinion, this council session was the most representative and successful of all the recent events dealing with problems of military-technical policy. Many problems voiced there, such as in particular reviving the Directorate for Major Military Programs, creating an independent commission of experts, ensuring the economic security of the defense order, and a number of others should be carefully studied and implemented in the near future. Otherwise the Army could find itself without contemporary arms systems and combat hardware.

'All' Nuclear Weapons Removed From Northern Fleet

PM0406102193 Moscow-Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 1 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Video report by V. Anuchin and A. Uchinin]

[Text] [Anuchin] The Northern Fleet's 60-year history comprises pages of heroic feats, valor, and glory. I will cite just one figure—89 seamen were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union during World War II and, as a sign of gratitude to those who defended the Polar Region during those harsh times, the bronze statue of a sailor was erected overlooking the gulf. Today, the Northern Fleet comprises combat ships which fly the St. Andrew's banner, and modern nuclear submarines like this one which is returning to its home base after almost three months at sea. Incidentally, there are no nuclear weapons on board this submarine. The fact is that all such weapons have been removed from all submarines and ships.

The Northern Fleet's surface vessels are its pride and joy. Vessels like the flagship of the Russian Fleet, the Admiral Kuznetsov aircraft carrier. It is equipped with all types of modern weaponry—not just naval hardware, but also SU-25, MiG-29, and SU-27 fighter aircraft and combat helicopters.

Tens of thousands of people of all nationalities serve with the fleet. They all live as one big happy family. Of course, there are problems. For instance, financial allocations by the state for ship repairs. Likewise, the question of burying nuclear waste has reared its ugly head. And, of course, there are various social problems, primarily the construction of housing in the central belt for those who have finished their service but are obliged to stay here in the Polar Region nevertheless.

Fleet Scores 'High Results' Exercise

PM0306132993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 3

[Vladimir Gundarov report: "Missiles Proved 'Smarter' Than Designers Imagined"]

[Text] The Northern Fleet's ships will not be at their moorings during the summer combat training period. In the last 10 days of May the Northern Fleet carried out an experimental exercise with about 10 surface ships, the same number of submarines, and naval aviation taking part. During the last phase of the exercise a grouping of diverse attack forces employed for the first time new tactics for using missile weapons.

"The results of the exercise showed that the tactical potential of sea-launched missile weapons is far more extensive than even their developers [sozdateli] had previously imagined. This is illustrated by the high results of the missile firing," their leader, Vice Admiral Viktor Reshetov said.

The Northern Fleet exercise is not the first one this year and will evidently not be the last. I was told at fleet headquarters that the ships will not stay at their moorings this summer as happened last year. At the same time combat training may become more intensive if two of the most important problems facing the fleet now can be resolved—the problem of increasing funds for ship repairs, funds that are only available for 20 percent of the ships needing repair, and fully manning all crews with seamen recruited both via the draft and by contract.

Features of SU-25 Fighter, Modifications Described

PM0306132593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0640 GMT 27 May 93

[From the "Aerospace Salon" program: Video report by program presenter Aleksandr Galkin]

[Text] [Galkin] Officially, it is not customary in our Air Force to give aircraft proper names. We probably lose something as a result. Pilots nonetheless make up nicknames for aircraft which they particularly like. The Su-25 was nicknamed "Rook" in Afghanistan. It was always circling right above the heads of both attackers and defenders. This is how rooks accompany plowmen in the fields. Although this does not seem to be a very apt comparison when it comes to war.

Easy handling, high maneuverability, a small turning circle, and a relatively high thrust-to-weight ratio enable the Su-25 to hit targets on the first approach and make effective use of the terrain when the attack is over.

The high survivability of the "Rook" is ensured by a range of special structural features. An all-weld cockpit of titanium armor protects the pilot from bullets, projectiles, and missiles. The armor can withstand up to 50 hits with 25-mm projectiles without sustaining cracks or

fissures. The fuel tanks are filled with polyurethane foam which means that they are completely explosion-proof. The reliable power plant has also often saved pilots' lives. It remains operational even if substantially damaged.

The Su-25 attack aircraft enjoys the reputation of being the most reliable aircraft in the Air Force. During its entire service record there has been no accident or disaster caused by malfunctioning equipment.

A whole series of excellent aircraft has been built, based on the Su-25, designed at the Pavel Sukhoi Experimental and Design Bureau. The best known modifications are the Su-25UB combat trainer, and the Su-25UTD [as heard] training aircraft which was built especially for naval pilots to rehearse flights from aircraft carriers. Another variant is the Su-25TK—the best anti-tank aircraft currently in existence. It is equipped with the unique "Vikhr" anti-tank system which includes 16 supersonic guided missiles. As distinct from its predecessor, the Su-25TK is equipped with everything necessary for operation in automatic mode. A television system preset in the required direction facilitates target selection and lock-on for the pilot. When the ordnance release button is pressed, the system autonomously selects the necessary munitions and launches them. Returning to the airfield, the pilot takes over control only immediately before landing. For the time being, the Su-25TK has no parallel in the world.

Supreme Soviet

Proceedings From 4 Jun Joint Session Detailed

LD0406090693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 4 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] At a joint session today the Supreme Soviet will discuss the adoption of a new constitution. However, that will be later, in the second half of the day, but at the moment parliamentarians are discussing questions of social policy.

[Correspondent Marina Polikarpova] Today's plenary session of the Russian Supreme Soviet began with an examination of a draft decision on endorsement of the main directions of social policy for 1993. The document presented by the president to the government did not satisfy the deputies and was merely noted. The parliamentarians remarked that the draft was full of facts and figures but does not determine specific measures for the social protection of the population in the conditions of a transition to market relations.

Parliament adopted without a debate a draft law on the pension fund budget for the second quarter of this year.

Today deputies intend to discuss a draft decision on the procedure for voting on adopting a draft of the new constitution of the Russian Federation.

And one other thing: the Supreme Soviet voted today for an early end to the powers of Yuriy Afanasyev, people's deputy of the Russian Federation for Moscow's Pervomayskiy territorial district, in connection with a personal statement he made.

Afanasyev Resignation Accepted

LD0406094993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0822
GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—The Supreme Soviet (standing legislature) of the Russian Federation voted on Friday [4 June] to relieve Russia's prominent democrat Yuriy Afanasyev of his duties as people's deputy of the Russian Federation "in connection with his personal request".

Afanasyev, a member of the faction "Radical Democrats" and rector of the Russian State Humanitarian University, told the press he cancelled his mandate of a people's deputy and stopped cooperating with the bodies set up by the congress, but preserved his moral and political obligations to his electors". [quotation marks as received]

While a people's deputy of the USSR, Afanasyev was a member of a regional deputies' group together with Andrey Sakharov and Boris Yeltsin. His remark about the "aggressive and obedient majority" in relation to the conservative part of the former Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, has become widely known.

Yeltsin's Social Policy Not Discussed

LD0406085593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0836
GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—The Russian Parliament refused on Friday to discuss the basic provisions of the social policy in 1993 submitted by President Boris Yeltsin.

Legislators agreed with the proposal of Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov to refrain from adopting the provisions because the "document is poorly-prepared".

"Do not dupe people with your invented categories", Khasbulatov told Russian Deputy Labour Minister Rafik Batkayev who presented the document which envisages measures of maintaining the living standards, state support to the social sphere and cushioning possible effects of growing unemployment.

Court Asked To Defend Rutskoy's Status

LD0406094693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0924
GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—The Russian Parliament decided on Friday [4 June] to ask the Constitutional Court to probe the legality of President Boris Yeltsin's actions against his number two.

Hard-line lawmaker Vladimir Isakov told parliament that "a number of actions and decisions have been adopted of late which infringe on the constitutional status of the vice-president".

Aleksandr Rutskoy, who publicly and resolutely opposed the president and rallied with Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, was stripped of all his duties and may lose also his office in the Kremlin. His staff was drastically reduced and Isakov said Rutskoy had been limited in information on foreign and home affairs.

Isakov stressed that the issue in question is not about personal relations between the president and the vice-president, but about violations of the constitution which determines the status of the vice-president as the second top official in the state.

The parliament decided to request the court to protect the constitutional status of the vice-president.

Pensions Budget Approved

LD0406111893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0953
GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—A session of the Russian Supreme Soviet (standing legislature) approved on Friday [4 June] the budget of Russia's pensions fund for the second quarter of the current year. The law on budget envisages to allocate 1,584 billion roubles for paying pensions and allowances, mostly by using receipts from insurance premiums, and for pensions to be paid on returnable basis from the federal budget.

Aleksandr Kurtin, chairman of the pensions fund board, told lawmakers that the law allows for a 1.9-fold rise of the minimum pension to bring it in line with the price index changes in the first quarter of 1993. This measure will cost the budget 482 billion roubles.

Another 73 billion roubles are to be earmarked for increasing from April 1 social welfare allowances for children. The fund chairman reported that the number of pensioners increased in Russia by 150,000 over the first quarter, reaching 35.5 million people. Together with those receiving allowances for children, it totals some 46 million "pensioners".

Legal Action Against Deputy Approved

LD0406144093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1401 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—A joint session of the Russian Supreme Soviet's two houses authorized the Public Prosecutor's Office by a majority vote on Friday [4 June] to take legal action against people's deputy Viktor Mironov, accused of calling for the violent overthrow of the current regime. At the same time, the parliament did not give its consent to administrative punishment of people's deputy Gennadiy Sayenko, charged with stirring up May Day turmoil in Moscow.

Mironov is to be arrested on charges of having circulated at the 9th Congress of People's Deputies on March 27 an appeal to the Russian president, urging him to intern his main political rivals and to impose direct presidential rule.

Russia's Prosecutor-General Valentin Stepankov reported that the investigation had found evidence of Mironov's involvement in the spreading of materials and public appeals for changing the present constitutional system by force, which is regarded as a criminal act under Article 70, Part 2, of the Penal Code of the Russian Federation.

The accused deputy stressed that his March 29 address, which was nearly unanimously approved by the voters, did not contain any appeals for overthrowing the existing constitutional system.

On Friday, Mironov released an address to the Russian Parliament Presidium, in which he voiced protest against the reprisals and requested the presidium "to instruct the Russian prosecutor-general to withdraw his file from the investigation department of the Russian Security Ministry for examination".

At the same session, Stepankov informed the lawmakers that after the participants of the May Day pro-communist rally gathered on Kaluzhskaya Square, the demonstration organizers, including Gennadiy Sayenko, decided to change the route and organized the marchers' movement along the Leninskiy Prospekt.

Sayenko, who was among the marchers, did nothing to hold them from violating public order and from clashing with policemen, which resulted in mass turmoil leaving one person killed and many others injured.

According to the prosecutor-general, Sayenko's offence was punishable under Article 166, Part 2, of the Penal Code of the Russian Federation (violation of the procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, marches and demonstrations). Nevertheless, the parliament did not give its consent to the initiation of administrative proceedings against the deputy.

People's Deputy Gennadiy Sayenko is the coordinator of the parliamentary faction "Deputies of Russia". According to Stepankov, he represented the right-wing National Salvation Front at the May Day demonstration.

Further on Parliament Proceedings From 3 Jun Session**Constitution Resolution 'Dropped' From Agenda**

LD0306173993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Report by Marina Vasilyeva; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A resolution on procedures for agreeing on and adopting the draft constitution was examined by today's joint session of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet. The questions put to Oleg Rumyantsev made it clear that deputies have mixed feelings about the draft resolution. There were arguments about the timetable proposed by the Constitutional Commission for finalization of the constitution and its adoption in November. Deputies objected to the fact that the resolution ignores alternative drafts—of which there are several, as we know; and, of course, they did not like the reference to a constituent assembly.

In view of the fact that the text of the draft resolution only became available today and deputies have not yet had a chance to study it properly, the question was dropped from today's agenda. Valentin Agafonov, who chaired the evening session, said parliament could return to the issue tomorrow if it wished.

Ryabov Supports Conference

LD0306184893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Not even the Supreme Soviet Presidium can agree on its attitude to the Constitutional Conference. Today a group of Presidium members released the text of an appeal to the Constitutional Conference, in which they express support for the actual idea of holding such an assembly. The signatories include Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of parliament.

Kozyrev Cited on FRY Conflict

LD0306215393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1705 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jun—Russia is obliged to take part in a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Yugoslavia. Together with other partners, we are taking fairly vigorous action to achieve these goals, Foreign Minister

Andrey Kozyrev stated. He delivered a report in the Supreme Soviet today on the work of the Russian Government in fulfilling the parliament's 18 February 1993 decision "On the Yugoslav Conflict".

The minister said that now "the parameters necessary for the abolition of sanctions against the FRY are precisely defined. For the first time, the approaches toward the Croat angle of this problem have been jointly agreed upon, and the idea has been incorporated of a possible application of international sanctions against Croatia in the event of impermissible actions by the Bosnian Croats with support from outside the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina".

Kozyrev briefed the deputies regarding a concept that has been worked out for the creation of safe havens for Bosnian Muslims, and it has been reaffirmed that the establishment of an independent Albanian state is unacceptable. At the same time, it is envisaged that the rights of national minorities—be they in the FRY or other newly formed states on the territory of former Yugoslavia—will be respected.

The Russian Foreign Ministry is working today on new proposals. "We have started exploring them with some of our foreign partners. In the media, they have already received the name 'Russian Plan Number Two'", the head of the Russian foreign policy department said. "Let us hope that we will really succeed together with the other partners in the so called 'Yugoslav Five' and alongside other interested countries in making decisions that will develop this program of action and make it specific," Kozyrev remarked.

At the same time, he said: "At the present time, an extremely circumspect approach to the problem is required, because internal political events are taking place in the FRY itself, the nature of which still need to be clarified."

At the same time, Kozyrev admitted that "no success is being achieved in stopping the bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia on a stable basis," even though, he said, "fairly vigorous international efforts are continuing, and we are playing a very active role in them."

The foreign minister's report has had mixed reactions among the deputies, some of whom even demanded "that a tough decision on the minister and the Ministry's policy be adopted". However, these proposals were not supported by the majority of the deputies. The Supreme Soviet confined itself to the information that Kozyrev supplied on the question being discussed.

Deputies Attack Yugoslav Policy

LD0306184393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By correspondent Marina Vasilyeva; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Almost the entire evening session of the Russian parliament was taken up by a debate on international issues. Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev submitted for ratification the treaty on the principles of relations between the Russian Federation and the Turkish republic and the treaty on friendly relations and cooperation between the Russian Federation and Mongolia. The Supreme Soviet ratified both treaties.

The debate on the way the Russian Government is implementing the Supreme Soviet's resolution on the Yugoslav conflict was a very difficult one. Deputies Andronov, Mikhaylov, and others were sharply critical of the Foreign Ministry's policies. They accused the Foreign Ministry of ignoring the Supreme Soviet's wishes and pursuing a line which is totally opposite to the one advocated by parliament. There were even suggestions that there should be a vote of no confidence in the officials responsible for our policy in the Balkans.

The parliamentary debate was still continuing when our program went on the air.

Treaty With Mongolia Ratified

LD0306162493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Today the Russian parliament ratified the treaty on friendly relations and cooperation between the Russian Federation and Mongolia, which was signed in Moscow on 20 January 1993. "The document reflects a new quality of Russian-Mongolian relations and creates a sound legal basis for deepening them and their further thorough development", said Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, speaking to parliamentarians.

Monetary Regulation Guidelines Passed

LD0306172493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1544 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By Business-TASS]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—The Russian parliament on Thursday [3 June] endorsed guidelines for monetary regulation for 1993. Viktor Gerashchenko, when addressing the parliamentarians, admitted that in the recent period the operation not only of the private sector but of state-run enterprises as well began to be oriented towards "short-term, quite often purely speculative operations" between the country's banks.

Touching upon monetary regulation problems, the Central Bank chief called for introducing criminal liability for the transfer of foreign currency to foreign banks by Russian citizens from the territory of Russia.

Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov described as exceptionally important the parliament's consideration of monetary regulation guidelines.

Speaking about the role of the Central Bank of Russia, Khasbulatov pointed out that "its activities are carried out within the government's overall economic policy endorsed by the parliament and within the framework of conditions which are being shaped by the government".

Touching upon the ongoing depreciation of the ruble, Khasbulatov said this is a "devaluation of national wealth". The parliament chief suggested that the parliamentary committees and commissions think out how to draw up bills which would be aimed at giving a boost to output.

Government, Central Bank Criticized

LD0306171193 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1558 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—The Government of the Russian Federation unsatisfactorily enacts President Boris Yeltsin's decree, dated July 1, 1992, "On normalising the payments-and-settlement relations in the economy of the Russian Federation", according to a Russian parliament resolution adopted at a joint meeting of the parliamentary chambers on Thursday [3 June]. The resolution deals with the government's work to regulate mutual settlements in the economy.

The parliament resolution also criticises Russia's central bank which "slowly implements measures to shorten the processing of payment documents".

With a view to regulating the mutual settlements process in the economy of Russian Federation and overcoming the uncontrolled growth of mutual indebtedness of enterprises and organisations, the parliament suggested that the government determine a mechanism to reduce the mutual indebtedness of enterprises and organisations and ensure its activation.

It has also been suggested that the Council of Ministers decide on a list of sectors and enterprises which are in financial straits and have are [as received] of great economic importance and elaborate measures to support them financially.

The parliament also instructed the central bank to finalise work to take measures to ensure the processing of payments documents within the normative period and apply measures of material liability to banks and other credit-lending institutions for any breach of the measures.

Khasbulatov Speech at 1 Jun Conference

PM0306123193 Moscow *ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian* 3 Jun 93 First Edition pp 3, 4

[Unattributed account of "Report by Ruslan Khasbulatov, Chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet," at the All-Russian Conference of People's Deputies of Soviets at All Levels held in Moscow 1 June: "Representative Power—Guarantor of Democracy in Russia"]

[Text] ESTEEMED CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS! We have gathered at an exceptionally complex, or rather critical, moment in time. You all are very well aware of the intensive campaign which has now been launched against the organs of representative power—soviets at various levels—and the light in which deputies are presented by the pro-government mass media, primarily television and radio. A stereotype is being implanted in people's minds around the clock, suggesting that soviets, both at central and local level, have been transformed into some kind of "conservative brake" on the radical changes being implemented.

The centuries-long experience of mankind, as well as our own Russian history, prove that dictatorship, without solving a single problem, ultimately leads to national tragedy and the retrogression of peoples not by decades but by entire centuries to the darkest and most primitive middle ages. In Russia, which is a vast federal country, any attempt to impose by crude force the center's will on the regions, the local authorities, and the population is doomed to inevitable failure. But catastrophic consequences may ensue, and we must not allow this to happen.

We have gathered here today to discuss the problems which exist in reality and on whose solution the country's fate is directly dependent. We must determine what has to be done in the first place, what is our real potential, how we can cope with the numerous and diverse difficulties, and what has to be abandoned by now.

Each region has its own specific features which must be borne in mind, and they must not be treated uniformly. On the other hand, however, there are also common problems and tasks. At this conference we could exchange opinions and experience and draw the necessary conclusions—for representative power at local level, at the Supreme Soviet level, and for all other central organs. It is important to set up an effective mechanism for collaboration between the federal parliament and the local soviets. As you are aware, very, very much depends on this and it is here that we are facing the most substantial problems.

Of course, today we will not be able to examine all aspects of the representative power's activity, although this is an exceptionally important problem.

I would like to inform you that, at the recent [CIS] Interparliamentary Assembly in St. Petersburg, deputies from other states, specifically from Kazakhstan and Belarus, raised the question of the need for a special examination of the activity of local self-government organs and soviets within the framework of the Interparliamentary Assembly. They drew the conclusion that an international scientific and practical conference is also needed.

A single act, like the Law on Local Self-Government, is not enough. We need fundamentals of legislation on local authority. Very serious work has to be done, in which the Union of Small Towns and numerous associations of soviets will be involved. Local self-government is the foundation of democracy in any state. Wherever there is a well developed system of local self-government, there is also people's power and rule by the people, there is no ground for any form of neototalitarianism in any shape.

THE REPRESENTATIVE ORGANS OF POWER are the basis of contemporary democracy. People's power and the population's monitoring of the state administration system are exercised through them. This monitoring does not permit the executive power's detachment from society's real needs and demands or its transformation into a self-sufficient force which is hostile to people.

This would seem to be a truism, and it is doubly applicable to Russia. The traditions of conciliarism, consideration of the people's opinion, collective organization of power, and republicanism have always been strong throughout its history. The aforementioned qualities have been noted in works by major independent researchers like Karamzin, Klyuchevskiy, Platonov, and others. They have drawn attention to the fact that collaboration between monarchical and democratic principles runs right through the entire Russian history. Whenever mutual understanding and cooperation between them has been achieved, those have been times of prosperity, of strengthening the structures of the Russian Land. The opposite also applies: Squabbles between them have engendered major disturbances, bloodshed, and the ravage of the Russian land. Russia, with its multitude of peoples and tribes, has also demonstrated quite graphically the principles of federalism, good neighborliness, and "social coexistence" [obshchezhitelnost], to use Pushkin's words.

I do not find it at all superfluous to mention this today, when many influential officials suggest that we should look exclusively to Europe and the United States for all the positive experience in state building. At the same time, through the mass media, they idealize the most negative attributes of absolute monarchy, and a pseudo-scientific ideological and theoretical foundation is being laid to underpin the willfulness and repressiveness of czarist rule. There is almost open preaching of the thesis that Russia's entire history boils down to nothing more than slavery and millennial totalitarianism and therefore

Russian people, the ethnic Russians, allegedly need no freedom and democracy, being perfectly happy with a new "tsar."

But the point is that a strong executive power is in principle impossible without a strong representative power. We have already seen for ourselves where one-man dictatorship leads, be it in the form of absolute monarchy or single-party monopoly. Peremptory edicts and directives handed down from above by each successive leader [ocherednoy vozhd] cannot "do great favors" to the people. A great and prosperous Russia cannot be built without people's experience and opinion, without their active and effective involvement in the process of reviving the broad strata of the population.

The soviets have played and continue to play a key role in the entire system of people's power.

Maybe the reforms are skidding and the numerous and diverse problems are getting exacerbated because their solution, just like before, is tackled only by the gigantically swollen apparatus of executive structures which has de facto usurped all real power. Speaking of the true state of affairs, the soviets lack not only the famous "full power", [reference to the 1917 slogan "All Power to the Soviets!"] but even the traditional and valuable functions which have for centuries been performed by municipalities and communes in civilized countries.

Let me list only the main avenues of the activity of representative organs of power, without which it is simply impossible to achieve even a slightly successful implementation of reforms today.

First, the soviets are meant to impart an original social "ground connection" to the reforms being implemented and to ensure support for them by the broad strata of the population, without which any transformations are simply doomed to fail. All plans and intended measures by the executive power must undergo a supplementary independent expert analysis at representative organs to check the reaction by different social groups of the population. Only then will chances of success appear together with—and this is the main point—support by the people.

Second, increasingly great importance attaches to the function of representative organs—the soviets—as generators of alternative programs and approaches, as sensible and constructive partners of the executive power promoting the quest for and discovery of the best possible solutions through their critical remarks and constructive proposals.

Third. It is difficult to overestimate the role which the soviets are called upon to play in the sphere of monitoring activity. Primarily in the sphere of putting an end to the numerous and steadily multiplying abuses and breaches of legality in which functionaries from the executive structures are literally wallowing, from those in the highest government echelons down to rayon and settlement administrations. One of the main reasons for

the persecution of soviets and of deputies at all levels is the fact that corrupt functionaries would like to protect themselves from possible exposure and the inevitable accountability for the illegalities and abuses committed by them. Essentially they wish to deprive the people of their legitimate right to protect themselves from mercenary and embezzling functionaries, from those who accumulate billions through the cynical and impudent plunder of public property. Recently the administration apparatus has de facto evaded its accountability to the government as well, upholding only its own selfish "bureaucratic class" interests.

ALL THROUGH LAST YEAR AND THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THIS YEAR the country has been witnessing strange—to put it mildly—events which cause amazement among sober-minded people both here and abroad.

First, as the economy and the life of the majority of people deteriorate, more and more efforts are being made to create the impression that stabilization is apparently under way, that the most dangerous time of crisis is over, and that the future can be anticipated with optimism.

Second, despite the immediate need to concentrate all efforts in the economic sphere in view of the danger that the production sphere may lose its ability to meet the population's elementary needs, the executive power is focusing the lion's share of its energy and time on political intrigues—on propaganda, information, and agitation campaigns in which almost all the government without fail gets involved.

Third, the more talk there is about democracy, that much more power gets concentrated in a single pair of hands, that much more scornful attitude is adopted toward the representative and judicial powers, and that many more threats and practical actions are taken against dissidents, against those who do not support the "general line."

This is not the end of the list of "strange occurrences" in our country. They are to be encountered at each step: Numerous promises by top officials aimed at gaining support at elections and the referendum, which are immediately afterwards forgotten; organization of the beating up of peaceful demonstrators who are immediately afterwards accused of provoking clashes with the militia; subordination of the mass media to a single branch of power while claiming that they are free; talk about civic peace and accord while in reality actions are taken to aggravate the situation, split people into supporters and enemies, instigate violence, and so on.

Society is still insufficiently aware of the reasons behind the use of these methods. In my view, the main reason is the confrontational policy pursued by right-wing radical forces. This confrontational policy, in its turn, has been prompted by the collapse of the policy of reforms, the contraction of the social base of support for reforms, and the growing influence on policy exerted by speculative

mafia strata, corrupt elements, and the most radical Western politicians, advisers, and scientists who still maintain anti-Soviet leanings through inertia.

The confrontational, and in many regards extremist, policy of right-wing radical forces which have seized key positions within the executive power disrupts normal evolutionary development in the economy, the social sphere, and society's spiritual life. It provokes counter extremism by left-wing radicals. We are witnessing a growing intertwining of the interests and actions of ultraright-wing and ultraleft-wing extremists. This increases the danger that violent processes will spread. Especially since confrontational policy is acquiring more and more clearly expressed violent attributes which are typical of a dictatorial regime trampling all constitutional norms, laws, and moral principles.

The confrontational nature of policy also takes the form of ignoring representative power, the Constitutional Court, and the appeals and will of the majority of political parties, movements, and associations.

This confrontational policy was sharply stepped up following the 25 April referendum, whose results were perceived by the presidential power as a signal and a basis for a decisive offensive against the other branches of power. Moreover, and from the very beginning, the strategy and tactics of this offensive were underpinned by ignoring all legal and moral rules of political relations.

We are dealing with a new phenomenon which threatens the Russian Federation's future and the citizens' fundamental rights and freedoms. As a result of this extremist confrontational policy, a qualitatively new situation prevails in the country in all spheres of social life and in all phenomena of social relations.

Soviets at all levels must respond to this new situation and the processes of the recent past which continue today and will continue in the immediate future. I mean primarily the results of the referendum and its consequences, the May Day events, and the artificially organized constitutional marathon.

UNDER THE LAW ON SELF-GOVERNMENT, as you know, the powers of soviet chairman can be vested in the head of administration. But this combination of office has become unjustifiably widespread. More than 65 percent of soviet chairmen in the Russian Federation are simultaneously heads of administration, with this percentage rising to 80 percent in the Republic of Bashkortostan and in Belgorod, Voronezh, Tver, Kirov, Orenburg, and Ulyanovsk Oblasts, and to 97 and 98 percent respectively in the Republic of Komi and the Republic of Mariy El.

The number of sessions held has dropped in comparison with 1991, numerous scheduled soviet sessions in 1992 were postponed through the absence of a quorum, and the number of people's deputies has been reduced since the start of the convocation. Deputies are less active as

regards accountability reports to their voters, and the number of deputies' questions has almost halved.

I would also like to draw attention to the fact that the so-called "vertical structure" of soviets no longer exists—in contrast with the "vertical structure" of executive structures. Republic, kray, and oblast organs of representative power nowadays function autonomously. This, in my view, is not all that bad. But the point is that heads of administration in most regions are appointed from the top and are not de facto subordinate to the soviets. Consequently, local soviets are increasingly becoming appendages of the top official, consultative organs rather than organs of power.

To put it briefly, prerequisites for authoritarian rule have already been created at the middle and lower levels of the pyramid of power. These prerequisites are enshrined as norms in the new draft Constitution. This process is that much more dangerous because the executive power's edicts and directives, extending beyond the limits of its powers, boost the authoritarianism of the corps of functionaries at the expense of the representative organs of power. Look at the situation regarding the president's representatives at local level—decisions on this question were adopted by three congresses.

The executive "vertical structure" is being consolidated at a fast pace, preserving the rigid hierarchy and strict subordination of lower structures to their superior structures, including at oblast and rayon level. Furthermore, it is being consolidated not from the positions of effectiveness of actions, fulfillment of socioeconomic programs, or solution of matters affecting the population—this consolidation is being done from positions of self-survival and a fortress mentality. The only point that is unclear is: Against whom are these defenses prepared? Could it be against the population by any chance?

Quite a few acts adopted in the recent past along this avenue can be listed. But let me draw attention to just one typical element that is clearly being hushed up: The emergence of surveyors in charge of land tenure regulation [inzhener-zemleustroitel]—functionaries of the state federal service for land reform questions—at the grassroot cell of local self-government which is now responsible for the administration of settlements and rural soviets. Thus, decisions being adopted on land questions in the Kremlin can henceforth be implemented on the same day throughout Russia's territory, in the most isolated settlements and villages. So much for self-government. It is vanishing.

This is a gross violation of the Constitution, an invasion into the sphere of representative power. But it is being done. And it is not being done by accident.

The huge bureaucratic monster, swelling before our very eyes and almost openly inosculating with mafia structures, is more and more powerfully stifling the people's creative and constructive energy, uprooting the already weak shoots of private enterprise, and suffocating the desire for economic freedom. The aim as regards the

organs of people's power, which alone are capable of taming the embezzling functionaries who have become detached from people, is if not to crush them, then at least to subordinate them and make them fully dependent on the executive structures.

Is this what we strove for when we launched the struggle for a genuinely democratic and free Russia?

There can be no argument that executive structures must be strengthened. The country cannot stand on its own feet without a firm authority recognized in all regions, without the strengthening of legality and law and order. Especially since the Federation Treaty, due to the lack of an effective mechanism for its implementation, clearly fails to ensure the prevention of conflict situations along national lines and is frequently skidding at local level.

But the restoration of this broken vertical structure should take place not at the expense of diminishing the prerogatives of the representative power, and certainly not on its ruins. Matters will develop much more quickly and successfully if the government and parliament at the center and the administrations and soviets at local level were to pool their efforts in the solution of this most important task. Always, of course, subject to strict adherence to the law, on the basis of clear demarcation of their powers, ruling out any supplanting in functions or interference in matters outside their competence. In other words, by acting in the way that is accepted in a rule-of-law state.

I would like to remind you: Soviets in our country have long-established traditions, they reflect the national specifics and features of our people, they are associated with the centuries-old roots of Russian statehood. Of course, just like any other political institutions in our society, the representative organs of power need renewal, rationalization of their structures, and reforms. This applies equally to the Supreme Soviet and to representative organs at local level. It is necessary to reduce the numerical strength of the corps of deputies in local soviets—they are obviously overmanned. But only someone who either lacks total understanding of Russia or is deliberately pushing the country down the path toward national catastrophe is capable of calling for the swiftest possible "curtailment" of the soviets or for their complete abolition.

MUCH HAS ALREADY BEEN SAID AND WRITTEN ABOUT THE REFERENDUM. I will emphasize just some aspects.

The referendum, which dealt a powerful blow on Russian statehood, boosted the desire of the president and his entourage to usurp power and launch an offensive against the other branches of power.

The experience of other countries shows that contradictions between the executive and legislative powers are a normal phenomenon. They frequently promote the development of policy, the strengthening of mutual

understanding and collaboration between the different branches of power, and the effectiveness of power as a whole.

There is nothing to fear in contradictions, but only if they develop within the framework of legality, the Constitution, and moral norms. If they were to extend beyond this framework, the result would be a war between the powers, their mutual weakening, the strengthening of anarchy, and the undermining of state stability and the country's security.

This is exactly what is happening in our country.

Exactly the same can be said about the referendum. The process of preparing for it and holding it saw rivalry and competition between various political forces. Democratic states provide equal conditions for this, which is the basis of a referendum's constitutionality. The main political forces are given equal opportunities to promote their views and positions.

But if the principle of equal opportunities is breached in, say, the allocation of television airtime, the violators are given a judicial warning. And if this elicits no response, the referendum's result is annulled. This is common practice in Germany, Britain, and other countries which our radicals love to cite as examples.

How can we talk about fairness in the allocation of opportunities for presentation of positions when 83-85 percent of time in electronic mass media—and 96 percent thereof in St. Petersburg—were allocated to the president's supporters? How can we, therefore, consider that the referendum's results were obtained in democratic and constitutional conditions?

Anything like this would have immediately prompted reaction by the courts and the public in other countries.

I am not saying this in order to negate the referendum but to prevent the "victors" from nurturing any illusions about support by the people. And also to enable us to prevent any repetition of similar manipulations of the public mind by any single political force during the presidential and parliamentary elections and the referendum on the Constitution which lie in store for us.

WE HAVE STILL NOT FULLY APPRECIATED THE SINISTER MEANING OF THE MAY DAY EVENTS, which took the form of unjustified use of force by the authorities against a peaceful demonstration. This is what provoked the bloody clash.

The May Day events cannot be viewed separately from the executive power's overall policy: It is switching to brutal violence. The May Day events cannot be isolated from the violent actions of Moscow's executive power 23 February and 22-24 June 1992, from the confrontational policy pursued by right-wing radical forces which are exerting a decisive influence on the president.

The investigation will make it possible to establish the degree of liability of various state officials, state organs,

and citizens. It is important to ensure that the material from the investigation is not consigned to the same oblivion as the material from the investigation into other similar events in 1992.

The executive power decided to use strong-arm methods against peaceful demonstrators in order to show the people its determination, toughness, and strength. But does the force of authority really reside in the ability to intimidate people? It resides in the ability to protect their security, life, and property.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION IS NOW THE MAIN, KEY CONCERN. The promises and calls for all efforts and attention to be switched to resolving acute economic and social problems have been forgotten. Nor is the bombastic statement that 1993 would be the year of the economy remembered.

It is hard to believe that those people who are deliberately fueling emotions are really confident that the appearance of a new Fundamental Law will mean that the economic slump and decline in the people's standard of living will immediately come to an end in our country, monstrous inflation will fall to zero, the advancing disintegration of science, culture, and education will cease, and the decline in Russia's international prestige will be halted. Everyone realizes that the mere appearance of a new, even the most ideal, Constitution will change little. It will be a long time before the articles of the Fundamental Law really start to be put into effect.

Needless to say, outdated constitutional provisions and laws must be changed and brought into line with the changed realities of the day. This process is under way, and fairly intensively at that, and now it is hardly necessary to drastically speed it up and organize a crazy race. Plenty of hasty, ill-conceived decisions have already been adopted as it is. They wanted to transform the economy within 500 or 300 days, now they want to formulate and adopt with great dispatch a constitution in two months.

Who wants records like that? Probably only the new political Stakhanovites in the Kremlin. Most Russian citizens will have to pay a high price for this, as they have already done for much else.

The true reasons behind the latest—the umpteenth!—political campaign are extremely prosaic. Aware of the total bankruptcy of "shock therapy," the leadership of the executive power decided to evade responsibility and pass it on to a fabricated "enemy," to the representative organs of power, declaring that they lack legitimacy on the basis of the results of the April referendum. It is no coincidence that the "Privatization" program was withdrawn as soon as the Supreme Soviet began to discuss it in order to help the government outline some specific timeframes, phases, some kind of a plan, and some kind of ideology for this privatization. But the program is being implemented. And you can see for yourselves just how it is being implemented.

It is therefore no coincidence that people are wondering: If there is no privatization program for 1993, why is the Supreme Soviet not putting a stop to this "piratization."

The hasty "forcing through" of a new Constitution is thus designed:

to heap all the blame for the disintegration on the soviets, on the representative power, by declaring it the latest "enemy of the people";

to get rid of a truly independent representative organ of power which, according to its constitutional status, can demand that the pitiful reformers be held strictly accountable for their actions;

to free the hands of corrupt people and bribe-takers in the government and relieve them from responsibility for their crimes;

to resolve the worsening economic and social problems by the usual administrative edict methods, by means of "tough pressure" and another revolutionary leap forward;

to honor the promises made to foreign patrons for their backing of reforms identified [personifitsirovanny] with the president's team.

It is obvious that, as far as the president's side is concerned, it is a question not of adopting a new Constitution as such most speedily, but of another attempt to weaken and undermine the federal representative power. Hence the desire to "bypass" constitutional means of formulating and adopting the Fundamental Law and belittle the role played by the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet in these procedures. And, wherever possible, to bar them altogether from taking part in the constitutional process.

This is the real idea behind artificially setting two draft constitutions—the so-called parliamentary draft submitted by the Constitutional Commission and the so-called presidential draft—against one another. I say "so-called" since in essence both drafts can with full justification be described as presidential. I would remind you that the Constitutional Commission was and still is led by the president. The draft whose basic provisions were approved by the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies was formulated under his leadership and with his direct participation. And if the Congress and Supreme Soviet are charged with retarding the adoption of a new Fundamental Law by delaying it for over two years, such recriminations should primarily be directed at the chairman of the Constitutional Commission who, instead of "shaping" edicts every day, should have really taken charge of the Constitutional Commission's work and provided the state with a Constitution. Although of course haste is scarcely appropriate in such complex work. A smooth evolutionary rather than an uneven revolutionary route from one constitutional quality to another is far more preferable for society as a whole.

Instead of that approach another was chosen, an emphatically confrontational approach, politicized to the limit, in the hope that no one would be able to deal a worthy rebuff. But there are people capable of dealing a worthy rebuff in our Fatherland. And we are not alarmed by attempts to split the Supreme Soviet and its leadership—we have experienced that as well. This is what, for instance, Presidium member Aleksandr Petrovich Pochinok said to me yesterday: We were indeed gathered together by the head of the president's Cabinet. And you are right that what we had was a [proper] conference there and you do of course insist on constitutional principles, but you realize that power is not on your side. You have taken the stand of remaining loyal to a backward, decrepit constitution that is not in keeping with the current situation. People are saying that you should make concessions. I tell you: I am willing to make concessions, but what kind of concessions? At the expense of the Constitution? I do not have the right to do that. The Congress did not elect me chairman of the Supreme Soviet to make concessions at the Constitution's expense. I will certainly make concessions within the confines of the Constitution.

Let us not be overly fastidious. Naturally the president—he is the chairman of the Constitutional Commission—has the right to convene any conference to help the Constitutional Commission, to help himself, to help the government, the Supreme Soviet, or the Congress in order to try to extract the requisite expertise from and consult with specialists, and in this respect the Constitutional Conference has an outwardly noble aim—to ensure that the components of the Federation take a more active part in the constitutional process and also enlist broad social groups, representatives of public movements, political parties, and various religious faiths in formulating a new Constitution, along with the executive, legislative, and judicial powers.

The edict itself speaks of the consultative nature of this forum. Well, if it is confined to clarifying the opinion on the new Fundamental Law held by representatives of various social strata and groups and of course to formulating the appropriate recommendations, one can only welcome the convocation of the conference. Like, for instance, the convocation by the Public Committee for the Defense of the Constitution and the Constitutional System of the all-Russia constitutional conference that will be held here in the Parliamentary Center 3 June. There must be support for any other forums where the merits and shortcomings of the submitted drafts (and there are now around a dozen of them) are discussed.

Misgivings are only aroused by the lack of firm guarantees that the Constitutional Conference convened by the president will not be transformed by another one of his edicts into a constituent assembly, say, empowered to adopt a new Constitution. That scenario would be clearly unconstitutional and tantamount to a direct attempt at a coup d'état. And that would naturally meet with a very resolute rebuff on our part.

Given that anticonstitutional edicts were issued in the past, almost leading to impeachment, you will agree that this hypothesis is not without serious foundation.

We are not opposed to people's deputies who have received the appropriate invitations taking part in the conference's work. But one must not forget the alarming circumstances that I have mentioned. In short, it is necessary to remain vigilant and realize the acuteness and complexity of the prevailing situation. And, if necessary, steadfastly come to the defense of the constitutional system and rebuff attempts at a coup d'etat, which would entail the most catastrophic consequences for Russia.

As for the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, our determination to uphold the constitutional path for the country's development and suppress any endeavor to introduce a dictatorial regime remains unchanged.

While stating this, we do at the same time advocate constructive cooperation with the executive power, including in preparing a new constitution.

Formulating its approach, the leadership of the Supreme Soviet is trying to take into consideration as far as possible the stance espoused by soviets of people's deputies at local level. To date the drafts of the Fundamental Law have been discussed in over 70 regions at sessions and sittings of supreme soviet presidiums and at inner soviets of kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies. In a number of territories the drafts of the new Constitution are also being examined at sessions of city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, by labor collectives, and at citizens' assemblies. The intention is to close the discussion in the first half of June.

What conclusions can be drawn from the information that we have received?

There is vigorous discussion under way. The following opinion is voiced most frequently: Both drafts require major additional work. In this connection proposals are being put forward for a conciliation commission to be formed to prepare one draft out of the two for collective discussion. It is stressed that discussion of the two drafts would exacerbate the sociopolitical situation in the regions and weaken the unity of the Russian Federation.

The Buryat and Kabardino-Balkar Supreme Soviets, the Komi Supreme Soviet Presidium, the inner soviets of the Magadan, Ryazan, and Tomsk Oblast Soviets, and many other soviets have voiced concern at the deepening of the crisis of power brought about by the emergence of various draft constitutions that do not differ fundamentally, but are at the same time artificially opposed.

This was also discussed with disquiet during a meeting of the representative and executive powers of the North Caucasian region and at a regional conference in Khabarovsk.

In an appeal to the president and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, the inner soviet of the Tula

Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies stresses that the new Fundamental Law must be free of political expediency and adopted in the interests of the entire people and state, of all components of the Federation. A new draft constitution, finalized jointly by the legislative and executive powers, must be published for study and discussion. The Supreme Soviet and the president are instructed on the basis of legal constitutional mechanisms and existing legislation to jointly determine the procedure for adopting the new Constitution, eschewing unwarranted haste and unconstitutional forms, making it possible to avoid social upheaval in society and ensure the integrity of Russia as a federal state.

The Maritime and Stavropol Kray Soviets and the Novosibirsk, Ulyanovsk, and Saratov Oblast Soviets consider attempts to adopt the Fundamental Law constitutionally to be unacceptable. In an appeal to the president and the Supreme Soviet the Maritime Kray Soviet deems it advisable to hold a conference of soviet chairmen and administration heads in Vladivostok in June to examine the draft constitutions.

Most of the decisions adopted by soviets of people's deputies propose using the tried and tested mechanism employed for formulating and adopting the Federation Treaty during work on the new Constitution.

If you want to know my opinion, I do not believe in a single draft. I do not believe in the force of logic, in the force of any of our supreme executive power's genetic propensities for presenting its viewpoint as the national viewpoint. We will hardly succeed in producing a single acceptable, democratic, normal draft. What is more, there is a very strong desire to see a specific person behind the draft constitution. All this reduces the chance of a well-conceived, serious base appearing, a foundation for the adoption of a single draft Fundamental Law for our country. Consequently, whether we like it or not, we will probably have three drafts. One draft is the presidential republic draft, the features of which we have already mentioned. The president has the right to ask the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies to hold a referendum on his proposed draft. I believe this to be his right. But it is also the right of parliament, the right of the representative power, to submit their draft. In my view, the parliamentary republic form of government accords to a greater extent with federal relations, with true democratism, and really accords with market relations. Consequently, the Supreme Soviet along with representative organs of power and the Constitutional Commission must concentrate their efforts on formulating a classic version of a truly republican form of government.

These are two spectrums of public opinion, say, but there is another powerful world philosophical spectrum that is prone to turbulent growth. Given our history, the specific nature of our state, and the genetic links with the socialist, communist past, millions of people want to champion the draft proposing a socialist state. Are we entitled to deny them that right while saying that we are

democrats and that we are building a rule-of-law state? Suppose I do not like this draft. But, if I am a democrat, am I entitled to limit another man's right to freedom of opinion, to express his opinion because I do not like it? I think that this major social and political group with definite world philosophical aspirations must also be given an opportunity to put its draft constitution to a referendum. Then we will have a chance to clearly ascertain our fellow citizens' opinions on the various draft constitutions. And then no one will reproach us for fueling passions and imposing our opinion.

As you know, representatives of 86 regions of Russia have been working in Moscow since 25 May finalizing the draft constitution as part of a Supreme Soviet working group.

The Supreme Soviet is still following very attentively the discussion of the draft constitutions at local level.

As for the Supreme Soviet itself, we must evidently accommodate the wishes of a number of components of the Federation and speed up the work on the package of laws to ensure the preparation and adoption of the new Constitution. I am referring to the Law "On Amendments and Additions to the Russian Federation Constitution" which envisages early elections of Russian Federation people's deputies and the Russian Federation president, the Law "On Elections of Russian Federation People's Deputies," the Law on Amendments and Additions to the Laws "On Elections of the President," "On the President, and "On the President's Taking Up Office," as well as a number of other legislative acts.

The presidential draft, the text of which coincides to a considerable extent with the Constitutional Commission's version, contains a number of attractive provisions developing our notions of the ways for Russia's constitutional development. The provisions that enshrine the status of the president as head of state deserve attention and further concretization. Now, as I have already said, these functions are combined with the functions of head of the executive power, which clearly contravenes the principle of separation of powers and brings disorder, parallelism, and confusion to state government.

By and large, however, the draft makes provision for quite an inadmissible concentration of power in the hands of the president, setting him above all Russia's federal organs, including the supreme representative organ. In spirit and letter this document is considerably akin to the not yet forgotten CPSU Central Committee decrees on state building. Then, admittedly, it was preferred not to legitimize the general secretary's dictatorial powers.

What does this version propose?

First, the president is granted the extensive right to intervene in the exercise of the functions of legislative, executive, and judicial organs and to directly influence the decisions they adopt. According to Article 80 of the

draft, for instance, the president can suspend the operation of acts adopted by all state organs, including federal and republic laws. Parliament is effectively deprived of a chance to influence the appointment and dismissal of federal ministers and leaders of federal departments. It introduces early dissolution of the Federal Assembly by the president, an organ which is effectively deprived of any real powers of authority. At this point I am forced to concur with those devotees of the presidential draft who consider its strong point to be the fact that it "considers Russia's traditions of strong authority." I only want to add that for some reason the worst elements are being taken from Russian history—not conciliarism and rule by the people, but autocracy and Bolshevik one-man command.

Second, the draft effectively aims to undermine and weaken all institutions of power capable of opposing in any way at all the head of state, who concentrates in his hands unlimited, effectively dictatorial powers.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE TASKS FACING SOVIETS AT DIFFERENT LEVELS TODAY. I have already mentioned the fact that the work of the soviets and their organs is not effective enough, something that manifested itself during the recent events. In particular, ties between the various soviet echelons—rayon, city, rural, and settlement—and voters, enterprise labor collectives, and public organizations have weakened. We must overcome this shortcoming by joint efforts. And certainly without any obligation to revive any vertical link. Daily work and exchanges of opinions and ideas are enough.

It must be acknowledged that the Supreme Soviet, carried away by sorting things out at federal level, pays little attention to local soviets of people's deputies. That also applies to the work of improving monitoring activity, improving cadres' and deputies' qualifications, and disseminating the work experience of representative organs of power. Collaboration with executive organs of power and particularly with political and public organizations and parties has been badly organized. We are rightly reproached for lack of proper glasnost regarding the work of the Supreme Soviet and soviets at other levels. We are not prompt enough in briefing local soviets on the legislative acts and decisions that are adopted. This reproach must of course be directed at both the Supreme Soviet as a whole and its leadership and at commissions and committees, their apparatuses, and structural subunits of the Supreme Soviet—the Editorial, General, Organizational, Socioeconomic Departments, and so on.

Although to be fair I must say that of late there has been a distinct tendency for the information supply to local soviets to improve by their being sent collections of the laws and decrees adopted by Congresses of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. But we realize that the Supreme Soviet is still in the local soviets' debt. And we will try to rectify this.

Now a word about what, in our view, should be the main areas in the soviets' activity.

First, it is quite obvious that as truly legitimate organs of people's power the soviets must assume the main role in upholding the strictly constitutional-legal, democratic path of development. Soviets are by their very essence democratic. And naturally they can and must be the main guarantor that the democratic nature of the transformations being implemented in the country will be preserved. No one will do that for us. You yourselves can see in the localities what happens if the Soviets curtail their activity.

Obviously the Supreme Soviet must organize closer cooperation with representative organs at local level. Telephone conferences with leaders of local soviets at various levels have already been made part of its work, as has centralized provision of normative legislative acts. We are striving to reinforce the soviets' material and technical base. We are also planning in the future to hold regular meetings, exchanges of opinions, and consultations with deputies at various levels and personnel from the apparatus and local administration.

I would of course like committee and presidium members to visit the localities more often. The way that many of our presidium members are cut off from what is going on at local level is taking its toll. It is as if they lead a kind of artificial life of their own, as if what is happening in the country does not penetrate their offices. This is a real ailment and we will cure certain presidium members of it...

You know that confrontation between the branches of power is expanding and is being encouraged by the center. The picture at local level is different. That too is understandable. When concern for everyday needs and people's aspirations takes center stage, there is simply no time for sensible people to think about political and bureaucratic ambitions.

Constructive collaboration with the administrations in resolving specific economic and social problems must be developed to the utmost. In areas where it is not happening, one should think about elections of administration heads. As the law and the constitution demand.

Collaboration with executive organs on such issues as the privatization of state and municipal property, land reform, exploration of mineral resources, and environmental conservation is becoming particularly important today. Let us be frank, at the moment things are not going too well for us here. We need to resolve practical problems and deepen market reforms in the interests of the population.

The process of redistributing powers of authority is now gaining momentum. This is quite a constructive process of benefit to the regions. Government is being decentralized, particularly at the level of executive power. But one must acknowledge that the republics, oblasts, and krais are still not availing themselves of the provisions

enshrined and constitutionally formalized in the Federation Treaty. This does of course represent an omission on the part of the Supreme Soviet and the government. We must adopt a law on the mechanism for implementing the Federation Treaty. We must all realize that further deviation from the provisions of the Federation Treaty is impossible. When we adopted it and submitted it to the Congress, this would have been the point at which disintegration would have started. It is therefore necessary to precisely comply with it and in some respects set to rights certain contradictions.

I would like to remind you once again that we successfully completed work on the Federation Treaty because it was based on the principle of equality in the socioeconomic potential of republics, oblasts, and krais. This principle has been violated in some areas. By one-sided unconstitutional edicts. That is why others, seeing the violations and the fact that some people have been given greater authority, are trying to even things out for themselves, on the spur of the moment among other things. This is inadmissible. In my view, the Federation Treaty cannot be revised if we want to preserve the unity and integrity of the Russian state.

The fact that agreements can be concluded flexibly at executive level, taking the specific situation into consideration, without going beyond the constitution, is another matter. The federal government can conclude agreements like that not only with a republic, oblast, or kray, but even with a rural soviet. There is nothing terrible in that, it happens all over the world. Say a pipeline needs to be laid across a rayon—you cannot avoid an agreement here.

But concessions must not be made at the Russian state's expense. Parliaments, presidents, and governments come and go, but states and peoples remain. And no population group or region should be corrupted with empty promises, including via constitutions. It is necessary to act on the basis of the interests of the whole population, the state as a whole. It was not we who built this state. For the last two or three years, incidentally, we have only been carrying out demolition work, no construction.

Another point. Insufficient attention is paid in the Supreme Soviet and at local level to monitoring activity. Yet that is the second most important area of activity for representative organs of power. We curse the past, but in the past regular checks were nevertheless carried out on the activity of executive organs. And decisions were adopted based on the results of the checks. This practice must of course be revived. A law on a state system of monitoring must be adopted as soon as possible.

Finally and lastly, something that should be given particular attention: More vigorous and purposeful use must be made of the tremendous potential of local self-government. Now, to be frank, this work has subsided, something that has been facilitated by an inadequate legislative base. Yet Russia had the extremely

interesting and instructive experience of zemstvos, which tackled—and fairly successfully at that—an extensive range of issues, from public education and health to statistics, insurance, and charity. Somewhere in the region of 25 very important areas were covered by the zemstvos' activity.

Unlike present-day grassroot soviets, the zemstvos had their own property (and thus some economic autonomy). This enabled them to provide effective backup for local, particularly small-scale, business and enterprise. Why not avail ourselves of this experience now?

European experience of self-government exists, worked out down to the finest detail. The European Local Self-Government Charter, for instance, which clearly formulates the rules guaranteeing the independence of local communities.

Kray and oblast soviets should evidently be given the right—as the first real step toward reviving local self-government—to create enterprises on the basis of oblast property (with the exception of kray and oblast budget funds, of course). The restrictions established by the state "Privatization" program should be lifted, as should be the right to pass their own legal regulation of the privatization of housing and oblast-owned enterprises. Naturally, the requirements of the relevant federal acts must be rigorously implemented in this.

It is also necessary to radically improve the work to fine-tune the legislative regulation of organs of state power and local self-government. To this end kray and oblast soviet state-legal departments should be set up. The Russian Supreme Soviet could offer them help and assistance.

Practical actions are the main thing now.

I would like to stress that the representative power is enjoying more real support from the population than ever before. That is true, no matter who says the opposite. That is why no one is entitled to adopt any fundamental decisions without considering the opinion of the representative power.

Regional Affairs

Dudayev Forces Take Municipal Assembly-Police Building

LD0406074593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0727 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Jun—At 0600 this morning special subunits under the command of Dzhokhar Dudayev, president of the Chechen Republic, took control of the building housing the municipal assembly and police. As a result of the clash some people were injured, a number of people were killed, and about 60 were arrested. The

whereabouts of Beslan Gantemirov, former head of the municipal assembly, and some opposition leaders is unknown.

The situation in Grozny is stable. ITAR-TASS has been officially told this by the "CHECHENPRESS" agency.

Further on Grozny Situation

LD0406092393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0750 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS—Several people were killed and some 60 arrested early on Friday [4 June] when special crack forces loyal to Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev seized the building of the opposition city council and police in Grozny.

Head of the City Council Beslan Gantemirov and several other leaders of the opposition disappeared.

However, the CHECHENPRESS news agency told TASS that the situation in Grozny is stable.

In his bid to suppress the opposition before the coming referendum on trust to the president, Dudayev also protested to Russian authorities "against talks in Moscow with self-proclaimed chairman of the so-called government of people's trust Yaragiy Mamodayev" and demanded his immediate deportation as a state criminal.

"The prosecutor general of Chechnya instigated criminal proceedings against former First Deputy Prime Minister Yaragiy Mamodayev for major embezzlements of state property and anti-state activities", the CHECHENPRESS news agency said.

Further Clashes Expected

LD0406094793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 4 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Here is a report from Grozny, Chechnya. At 0600 today special subunits under the command of Dzhokhar Dudayev took control of the building housing the municipal assembly and police, ITAR-TASS reports. But, according to information received through INTERFAX channels, at least eight people were killed in the Chechen capital as a result of shelling by the president's supporters in the internal affairs directorate and the municipal assembly.

At an opposition rally an INTERFAX correspondent was told that there were many wounded. The shelling of positions was carried out by tanks and howitzers with the aim of forcing opposition members to abandon the building. Approaches to the square have been virtually closed.

Armed supporters of the president, including Afghan war veterans and volunteers who have been fighting in

Abkhazia, are approaching the area where a rally is being held, INTERFAX was told by (Ganga Elmuzayeva), a member of the coordinating council of the (Daymog Otechestvo) movement. People in the square - there are about 10,000 of them - are preparing for clashes, she said. However, they have very few weapons, only the guards at the rally have them.

As far as an assessment of the situation in Grozny is concerned, according to the TASS and INTERFAX reports, the situation on the streets is calm, although INTERFAX points out that it is only a surface calm.

Dudayev Disbands Republican Constitutional Court

LD0306142993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1425 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Grozny June 3 TASS—Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev disbanded the Republican Constitutional Court, the CHECHENPRESS News Agency reports on Thursday [3 June].

The president stressed in a decree issued on this occasion that "the Constitutional Court established for the unbiased and independent examination of cases began, in actual fact, to distort openly legality and rights".

The Chechen Economics and Finance Ministry was instructed to stop financing the Constitutional Court, and the National Bank was told to close its accounts.

Chechnya Leaders Divided on Federation Treaty Issue

MK0306111293 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 23, 6 Jun 93 (signed to press 1 Jun) p A12

[Lyudmila Leontyeva article under the "Chechnya" rubric: "Reply to Khasbulatov"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Chechnya opposition enthusiastically welcomed, as moral support, Ruslan Khasbulatov's address to the Chechen people calling on Dudayev to resign, while categorically disagreeing with his claim that new leaders who would replace those under Dudayev "should sign the Federation Treaty."

"A new Chechnya will not sign any federation treaties," your MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent was told by Salambek Khadzhiyev, leader of the democratic movement not only of Chechnya, but also of the North Caucasus, the last petrochemical industry minister of the former USSR, "and it will not be part of Russia. We are in favor of the closest possible economic relations with Russia, of friendly, warm relations with the great neighbor—but political independence and national sovereignty are a dream and the goal for an absolute majority of the Chechen people."

Yaragi Mamadayev, however, head of the provisional government of national confidence, is conducting talks

with Russian authorities on a draft treaty between Chechnya and Russia. Under it, Chechnya is offered "special status" as part of the Russian Federation. "He may conduct talks on economic matters, whereas nobody has empowered him to discuss Chechnya's political future."

Khadzhiyev thinks that the indifference on the part of Russian democrats to what is taking place in Chechnya is inexcusable. According to him, owing to the information blockade, certain forces of the Union's military-industrial complex are interested in—and because of the Russian-Chechen arms and oil Mafia, Russian democrats do not realize in full measure—the fact that national-socialism is rearing its head in the North Caucasus.

Chechen Parliament Adopts Measures for 5 Jun Referendum

LD0406012593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1514 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jun—The Chechen parliament has adopted a decision on measures to ensure the necessary conditions for citizens of the republic to express their will freely in the referendum on 5 June. Parliament decided to allow the central electoral committee of the republic, where necessary and at its own discretion, to form additional polling stations, including mobile ones, at the domiciles and workplaces of Chechen citizens. The decision notes that electors in whose electoral districts conditions for voting have not been established are permitted to vote at any polling station regardless of place of residence.

Former Mordovian President Responds to Court Decision

LD0306224593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1725 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Papeta]

[Text] Saransk, 3 Jun—"The decision made was political, not legal. At the moment, I cannot say anything definite about its essence and meaning, because it is couched in language that is too complicated." Such was the comment made by Vasily Guslyannikov, the republic's president who was removed from office by the Supreme Soviet on the decision of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court regarding the abolition of the institution of the presidency in Mordovia.

Guslyannikov held a news conference today in connection with the decision of the Constitutional Court. It is already known that—in accordance with the decision—the claims of both sides were rejected. The case will, apparently, have to be considered once again—this time on a lower level—in the Constitutional Court of Mordovia.

Talking about the reasons behind the wording of the court's verdict, Guslyannikov said that "the juridical subtleties" of the decision "were influenced by the political orientation of the members of the Constitutional Court." Regrettably, I had this proved to me when I took part in the trial, the president said. According to Guslyannikov, each member of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court has his own political credo, and "there turned out to be more neo-communists in the Constitutional Court", which enabled the court to bring the case to the compromise of a deadlock, where it did not have to say either yes or no.

Returning to the subject of searching for ways to resolve the crisis in Mordovia, Guslyannikov said this should be fought for "in order to put an end to the triumph of neo-communism in our republic".

In conclusion, the president said that he had not given up his plan to attend the constitutional conference in Moscow and that he was going to take part in it.

Republican Heads on New Draft Constitution

LD0306143493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1402
GMT 3 Jun 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 3 TASS—"The presidential and parliamentary draft constitutions must be merged into one document," Ingushetian President Ruslan Aushev believes. "The Constitutional Conference," he holds, "will not be able to cope with this task. Many people will come together, will argue, and will not be able to reach an agreement," he told the weekly "ROSSIYA" in an interview published here today.

"First a handful of experts must work on a single draft and then it must be put to a referendum, so that the people would assume responsibility for their new fundamental law. This will be an important historical step. After that it is necessary to organise preterm parliamentary and presidential elections," Aushev believes.

"The Constitutional Court should head the work to bring together the two drafts," Aushev is convinced. "Although the constitution in force does not vest it with such powers, nevertheless, the solution of constitutional problems is within its competence."

"The constitution must be adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies," it is claimed by Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, the president of Kalmykia. "Prior to that, everybody must express their attitude to the drafts: the president—through the Constitutional Conference, and the other forces—through other bodies. But the final decision should be made by the congress."

"The Constitutional Conference could help merge the two drafts into one," he believes. "At least, it is better to discuss and weigh everything properly, than to go to war."

"The presidential draft could be taken as the basis for the constitution's finalisation and it should be supplemented by needed passages from the draft of the Constitutional Commission," Ilyumzhinov holds. "The combined draft should be put to discussion. The main thing is to guarantee the rights of subjects of the federation."

"Being as I am president of a sovereign republic within Russia, I prefer the presidential form of political arrangement," Ilyumzhinov stated.

Tatar Parliament Debates Relationship With Federation

PM0306085993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in
Russian 29 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent Dmitriy Mikhaylin report under "Federation" rubric: "Process of Negotiation Raises Doubts: 16th Session of Republic of Tatarstan Supreme Soviet Ends in Kazan"]

[Text] Kazan—After long wrangling the session did eventually examine the question of the posture to adopt on the draft Russian constitutions. The decree on this topic says that the republic intends henceforth to build its relations with the federal authorities first and foremost on the basis of its own Constitution, Article 61 of which records that "The Republic of Tatarstan is a sovereign state and subject of international law which is associated with the Russian Federation-Russia on the basis of the Treaty on the Mutual Delegation of Powers and Objects of Jurisdiction [Dogovor o vzaimnom delegirovaniy polnomochiy i predmetov vedeniya]." The Republic of Tatarstan Supreme Soviet earlier proposed to the Russian parliament that this provision be enshrined in the new Russian Constitution.

"However," the Republic of Tatarstan Supreme Soviet Decree "Regarding the Draft New Russian Federation Constitutions" says, "the Republic of Tatarstan Supreme Soviet's legislative initiative on fashioning a new relationship between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Russian Federation has not been reflected in the Russian Federation draft constitutions submitted for examination." In this regard the Tatarstan parliament deemed essential the recognition by the federal organs of power of the "Republic of Tatarstan's status as a sovereign state and the inclusion of separate provisions on the treaty and constitutional relationship between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Russian Federation in the draft of the new Constitution."

Apart from the federal authorities' stubborn reluctance to enshrine in the new Constitution a paragraph on the special relationship with Tatarstan, the difficulty for the latter still resides in the fact that this special relationship has not yet been formalized. The Treaty on the Mutual Delegation of Powers and Objects of Jurisdiction, on the basis of which Tatarstan wishes to be associated with the Russian Federation, has been "at the signing stage" for a year now. In this regard the aforementioned decree says

that "the process of negotiation, which has been protracted for reasons which do not depend on the republic...raises doubts about the Russian leadership's commitment to the ideas of reforming the federation on new, genuinely democratic principles."

Despite these doubts, the Tatarstan leadership is still not losing its optimism. On the contrary, an accord on continuing top-level Russian-Tatarstan negotiations was achieved at a meeting with Sergey Shakhrai, who stopped over in Tatarstan en route from Omsk.

As Tatarstan parliamentary leader Farid Mukhametshin stated in an INTERFAX interview, two articles in the treaty remain outstanding: the formulation of the relationship between Russia and Tatarstan, and Tatarstan's share of the Russian Federation Gold Reserve and Diamond Stock. Moreover, six of the ten intergovernmental economic agreements have already been agreed and are ready for signing.

"It will be possible to examine the question of enshrining the formulation of the relationship between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Russian Federation in Russia's Basic Law after the signing of the intergovernmental treaty," the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet chairman stated.

By all appearances, the question of delegating Tatarstan representatives to the Constitutional Conference will depend on the signing or nonsigning of the treaty. At any

rate, the republic has acquired yet another lever of influence on the federal leadership.

Chernomyrdin Studies Situation at Black Sea Ports

PM0406105993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By A. Melkonyan and N. Postoyalko; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Melkonyan] Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin began [his visit to the Novorossiysk region] by familiarizing himself with the situation at the sea ports of Sochi, Tuapse, and Novorossiysk. The merchant sea port at Novorossiysk for instance—Russia's only major deep-water port on the Black Sea—is literally suffocating today, barely able to handle 50 percent of incoming and outgoing cargoes. Dozens of ships sometimes wait for months to be unloaded, and consequently Russia is suffering colossal losses. It has long been recognized that there is a need to construct a modern transportation facility in Novorossiysk, and to reconstruct the ports of Tuapse, Sochi, Temryuk, and Yeysk. Indeed, it is precisely this which constituted the subject of committed and serious discussion on this occasion. [passage omitted]

International Affairs

Kozyrev Arrives To Prepare Kravchuk-Yeltsin Summit

LD0406095493 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 0910 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Kiev, 4 Jun—Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived in the Ukrainian capital today to meet with the Ukrainian leadership on the instructions of Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The forthcoming talks will concentrate on the issues of preparing a Russian-Ukrainian summit to study the critical situation around the Black Sea Fleet, which has come about.

At a meeting with the Russian minister, Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk said that the Ukraine Supreme Soviet is currently discussing issues of ratifying the START I treaty and the Lisbon protocol.

After the meeting with the president, the first round of talks of the heads of the foreign political departments of Russia and Ukraine started. Other issues the ministers are to discuss include the problem of preparing the summit and bilateral relations; they also intend to voice their concern in connection with certain recent instances of restrictions upon the Russian language which is used by a considerable part of the country's population, something which can obviously result in certain frictions in society.

After completing the first round of talks, the Russian foreign minister will fly to Sevastopol where, with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, he will meet with the commander of the Black Sea Fleet and representatives of the personnel. Also, there will be meetings with the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Crimea and the presidential representative in Crimea.

Then Andrey Kozyrev will return to Kiev where a final round of Russian-Ukrainian talks will take place.

Zlenko Expresses Hopes for Talks

LD0406102393 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 0954 GMT 4 Jun 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Kiev June 4 TASS—The recently started Russian-Ukrainian talks are expected to find a way out of the critical situation around the Black Sea Fleet.

At a meeting with the Russian foreign minister, his Ukrainian counterpart Anatoliy Zlenko said that "the impression is that Russia and Ukraine have entered a stage of tough confrontation, but it is not so." Zlenko does not regard the current turn of events as dangerous.

He expressed hope that the talks would be constructive and would bring positive results. After the end of the talks the two ministers flew to Sevastopol.

Kravchuk Receives Yeltsin Letter on Black Sea Fleet

AU0306133593 Kiev *HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian* 2 Jun 93 p 2

[Statement by the Foreign Ministry's Press Center: "Letter from the Russian President to the Ukrainian President"]

[Text] On 31 May, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk received Ambassador of the Russian Federation Leonid Smolyakov who handed him a letter from Russian President B. Yeltsin.

In response to the questions raised by the Ukrainian side, the Russian president also expresses his anxiety regarding the situation that has taken shape in the Black Sea Fleet. He shares the opinion on the need to take urgent measures and, in particular, to hold, in the near future, negotiations between Ministers of Foreign Affairs A. Zlenko and A. Kozyrev for the purpose of preparing the next meeting at the highest level.

Kiev Seen Using Delaying Tactics on Denuclearization

PM0306144593 Moscow *KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian* 2 Jun 93 p 3

[Vladimir Petrov report: "Why New Guarantees"]

[Text] It is still not known when Ukraine will leave the "nuclear club." You can already count up the Ukrainian parliament's promises to examine the START I Treaty, the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, and the Lisbon Protocol, that is, decide once and for all on the state's nuclear-free status. At a recent news conference in Kiev Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk, chairman of the National Disarmament Committee, confirmed that deputies should have discussed these documents 20-21 May, but wrangling over the government (which did in fact occur) stopped this. However, Tarasyuk remarked, these matters will appear on the Supreme Soviet agenda in June.

Many observers nonetheless have doubts about this forecast. After all, the main reasons for the postponement of ratification of the START I Treaty have not been removed. A military doctrine to enshrine Ukraine's nuclear-free status has not yet been adopted (the draft has been examined twice and on both occasions has been sent back for further work). Never mind the fact that a considerable proportion of deputies representing the right-radical wing have simply continued to demand that Ukraine be made a nuclear power. Although, according to Tarasyuk, Ukraine has already received the text of a declaration of security guarantees from Britain, Russia,

the United States, and France, it would prefer a multilateral legal document. And, naturally, the question of the West's providing financial compensation for Ukrainian disarmament has been raised again.

We know that the United States is earmarking \$175 million for this purpose, but that money will only arrive once the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has ratified the START I Treaty and acceded to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Ukraine itself estimates the cost of the nuclear disarmament process to be between \$2 billion and \$3 billion. And that may also serve as a pretext for another delay in the ratification process. A request for increased financial aid was made during a recent visit to the United States by a parliamentary delegation led by First Deputy Speaker Vasiliy Durdinets.

Moreover, a few more "buts" have appeared.... It was proposed both in Vasiliy Durdinets' speech at Washington's National Press Club and during Boris Tarasyuk's Kiev news conference that the states in the "nuclear club" sign documents guaranteeing that they will not use nuclear or conventional forces against Ukraine, that they rule out political and economic pressure, and at the same time recognize the "inviolability of its borders."

There is every indication that the latest Kiev initiatives are in fact the very conditions that should promote the parliament's adoption of the "antinuclear documents." So the Ukrainian side may have further cause for justification in the event of the protracted examination of the nuclear disarmament documents.

Analyst Views Country's Position on Nuclear Disarmament

AU0306084293 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 29 May 93 p 5

[Volodymyr Skachko report: "Security for Oneself—Through the Security for All"]

[Text] Ukrainian nuclear disarmament documents are ready for the Ukrainian parliament's consideration and will, probably, be studied in June. However, this is up to the deputies themselves. That was approximately how Borys Tarasyuk, deputy minister of foreign affairs and chairman of the National Committee for Questions of Disarmament, concluded his meeting with journalists in Ukraine's National Press Club.

He also confirmed his department's readiness to implement Ukraine's policy toward acquiring a nuclear-free status, as was determined by Ukraine's Supreme Council, because, as he put it, nuclear missiles cannot provide guarantees for our state's security in a world that is adopting new principles of interstate relations. Ukraine's security may be guaranteed in a much more reliable way by mobile armed forces prepared for defense, by developed bilateral and multilateral contacts, by the European system of collective security (Ukraine put forward the initiative for creating this system), and by security guarantees on the part of nuclear powers. It is

in these directions that Ukraine is, in fact, moving today. In particular, B. Tarasyuk discussed Ukraine's initiative for creating a Central and Eastern European Stability and Security Area (CEESSA) that would function under the motto "security for oneself through security for all" and would not take the form of a sanitary border around Russia, but would constitute a link in the chain of building a Transatlantic security system in the so-called CSCE area—from Vancouver to Vladivostok. According to B. Tarasyuk, CEESSA is not yet another military-political organization, but rather a mechanism for holding bilateral and multilateral consultations for the purpose of resolving existing disputes and ruling out the emergence of others. There are problems in common in the new independent states. These are territorial questions, one's own security in the conditions of the "security vacuum" that emerged after the disintegration of the Warsaw Treaty, NATO's refusal to admit anybody else to its ranks, the guarantee of national minorities' rights, and problems of a joint post-socialist economic market. In short, there are topics that must be discussed without pushing relations toward Balkanization.

Concerning the guarantees for Ukraine's security on the part of nuclear powers, B. Tarasyuk stated that there are corresponding guarantees from the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and France; China is also ready to provide a corresponding document. Ukraine believes that these guarantees include refraining from aggression that might involve either nuclear or conventional weapons, making impossible any economic or political pressure, and respecting territorial integrity and the inviolability of borders. The five nuclear powers guarantee all of these, but, as B. Tarasyuk pointed out, Ukraine is not quite pleased by the fact that the declarations will be made public not prior to but after Ukraine's Supreme Council ratifies START-I, the Lisbon Protocol, and the Nonproliferation Treaty. Besides, declarations remain declarations, and it would have been better if Ukraine could, instead, have some legally binding document that would place the security issue in a two- or multilateral law-and-treaty dimension. According to Tarasyuk, nuclear powers will hardly agree to this, but if the Ukrainian parliament decides that this should be the case, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will pursue such a policy. In general, stated B. Tarasyuk, the deputies will discuss everything in substance, if the following conditions are fulfilled: that security guarantees are provided, compensation for nuclear weapons is specified, as well as financial assistance in the process of disarmament, and the work of inspectors near missile complexes continues after their possible removal from Ukraine. B. Tarasyuk stressed that both tactical and strategic weapons are not just transferred to Russia, but are taken there to be dismantled and destroyed. Nobody can deny the fact that these are different things—to simply transfer and to transfer for destruction. B. Tarasyuk also confirmed the cost of disarmament—\$2.8 billion. This figure is high and nor is it final, because we do not have corresponding estimates for the future.

There are already losses—Russia, having received tactical nuclear weapons, has not paid us a single kopeck, and the negotiations on this subject show no progress. All of this to the accompaniment of talks on confidence....

Black Sea Fleet Commander Protests 'Gross Violation'

WS0306144193 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] Vice Admiral Eduard Baltin, Black Sea Fleet commander, has sent a letter to General Prosecutor Viktor Shyshkin, accusing the Ministry of Defense and the Ukrainian Navy of an alleged appropriation and subordination of Black Sea Fleet units, formations, and institutions to the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, and of taking discriminative measures against Black Sea Fleet servicemen. The commander has asked the general prosecutor to verify the facts and annul the decisions that are "a gross violation of Ukrainian laws and Article 10 of the Yalta Agreement." Vice Admiral Baltin has underlined that the ships that hoisted the St. Andrew's flags are still part of the Black Sea Fleet and the fact of hoisting these flags is not a reason for removing the ships from the Fleet.

Czech Parliament Chairman Concludes Visit

LD0306224793 Prague CTK in English 1815 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Kiev, June 3 (CTK)—Czech parliament Chairman Milan Uhde, who today concluded a three-day official visit to Ukraine at the head of a parliamentary delegation, told CTK he saw prospects for Czech-Ukrainian economic relations as good.

He said that a group of Czech experts would come to Ukraine soon to foster trade and economic cooperation.

Uhde believes that the two countries' presidents could meet this year. He said that work on a treaty on bilateral relations which is currently being prepared has already entered its final stage.

Uhde, who met with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk yesterday, praised Kravchuk's stand on the Czech Republic's efforts to acquire non-permanent member status in the United Nations Security Council, saying his reaction was very positive. It is very encouraging that we have not met with negative Ukrainian stance toward this problem, Uhde said.

He admitted, however, that also reserved stands on the issue were declared during his talks in Kiev. Of course we understand that the counter-candidacy of Belarus for the position is very serious, because of its significance for neighbouring countries, Uhde said.

He recalled that Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko stressed during his talks with the Czech delegation on Wednesday that central and east European countries should try to agree on one candidate for the post.

Before leaving Ukraine for Prague later in the day, Uhde told journalists he assessed the results of his visit positively. The goal has been accomplished, he said, the two parties exchanged necessary information and experiences. Now it is necessary to prepare documents on principles of bilateral relations and on all-sided cooperation in difference spheres, Uhde concluded.

National Affairs

Zlenko Speech to Parliament Addresses Nuclear Treaties

LD0306195793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0812 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Speech by Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko to a session of the Supreme Soviet in Kiev—live]

[Text] Esteemed Chairman, Esteemed People's Deputies: The issue that today's session of the Supreme Council is discussing undoubtedly has an unusually important significance for the future fate of Ukraine, for guaranteeing its military, economic, and ecological safety, and for determining its place among the civilized nations of the world. We are discussing whether Ukraine will be a non-nuclear state; that is, one that does not possess nuclear weapons.

Ukraine's parliament, it seems, has already given its unequivocal answer to this in a number of its decisions. The Ukrainian Government has acted in accordance with the implementation of the decisions of the Supreme Council. A thorough analysis of the aspects of all possible results of Ukraine's participation in two fundamental agreements in the area of the limitation of armaments and disarmament—specifically, the START I treaty and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty—preceded this.

The results of this analysis—which we have carried out without interruptions and in close cooperation with our leading experts, also following the signing of the Lisbon Protocol—testifies to the fact that both the ratification of the START treaty and joining the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will be in Ukraine's national interest. During the course of almost a year following the signing of the Lisbon Protocol on 23 May 1992, the issue of participating in these treaties was discussed by Ukraine's National Security Council, Ukraine's Defense Council, at hearings of the working group, and in Supreme Council commissions. Ukraine's and the foreign states' mass media have paid much attention to this issue. Experts and scientists discussed it at international meetings and seminars. In a word, it would not be an exaggeration to say that probably no other political issue attracted as much attention from the political leadership

and from Ukraine's people as the issue of accession to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the ratification of the START I Treaty.

In summing up the results of these discussions, the majority of the experts came to unequivocal conclusions. Today, I would like to acquaint members of the Supreme Council with these conclusions, as well as with an analysis of the foreign political effects of the possible alternatives to Ukraine's nuclear strategy.

First, the singularity of the situation that Ukraine found itself in following the former USSR's collapse and the declaration of the intention to become a non-nuclear state—even in the future—lies in the absence of defining Ukraine as a nuclear or a non-nuclear state in accordance with the provisions of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty through the accession to this treaty. Practically, Ukraine inherited nuclear weapons located on its territory. However, as the experts stress in connection with the fact that control over these weapons never belonged to Ukraine, in their opinion, it cannot be regarded as a nuclear state in the clear sense of the word.

As is known, the right of ownership envisages the presence of at least three basic conditions: possession, utilization, and disposal of the object of ownership. In reality, Ukraine never had the possibility to make use of nuclear weapons, despite the declaration concerning the presence of Ukraine's nuclear weapons. It is possible that, at first glance, this seems not such an essential argument, but it is impossible not to reckon with it as the generally accepted principle envisaged by the START Treaty.

Second, one can suppose that Ukraine, as a legal successor to the former Soviet Union, could continue the USSR's participation in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as a state in possession of nuclear weapons. This would be the only legal facility, from the judicial point of view, for our country to join the circle of the so-called recognized nuclear states—in other words, to become a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty through nuclear status.

I will remind you that, in accordance with Article 9 of the treaty, a state in possession of nuclear weapons is a state that has developed and tested nuclear weapons or another nuclear explosive device before 1 January 1967. In the opinion of Ukrainian international lawyers, Ukraine—as a legal successor state to the USSR—meets such a definition, and one can suppose the possibility of recognizing Ukraine as a nuclear state.

Initially, however, we would have to solve all the legal and technical issues with the Joint Command of the Strategic Nuclear Forces of the CIS—which, in effect, means with Russia—concerning the implementation of the possibility to use one's own property.

Third, there is an opinion that nuclear weapons give an almost absolute guarantee of security to the state, of territorial security and of the inviolability of borders. On

one hand, this is actually true. Nuclear weapons are the most effective means of containment, especially in the conditions of strategic parity that existed between the USSR and the United States of America for 30 years and that practically made it impossible to use armed force in solving disputes between nuclear states.

The question is as follows: Are there now in Ukraine the necessary conditions for it to be able to be a nuclear state and to maintain in a combat and safe state the nuclear arsenal deployed on its territory? The question of Ukraine having a real possibility of not only declaring itself a nuclear state but of providing and supporting that status materially was focused on by Ukraine's nuclear scientists, its leading specialists, during their analysis.

Fourth, as the specialists state, in order for Ukraine to have efficient and safe nuclear weapons, it is necessary to start with creating Ukraine's own relevant infrastructure, without which nuclear weapons can become a threat to its own people. It is known that nuclear warheads are extremely complex mechanisms to create.

Many-thousand strong collectives of highly qualified scientists and technicians work at this in nuclear states.

The nuclear complexes where such specialists work consist of at least seven (?main) elements:

1. A relevant scientific and technological base;
2. An industrial base for production of nuclear materials—of highly enriched uranium and plutonium, first of all;
3. An industrial base for production of nuclear warheads and their maintenance under necessary conditions;
4. An industrial base for production of means to transport nuclear weapons;
5. An infrastructure that would provide transport, technical servicing, safe storage, and physical protection of nuclear warheads;
6. An infrastructure for combat servicing of nuclear weapons; and
7. Test grounds for testing nuclear warheads. The majority of these elements—incidentally, the very dirty ones in ecological terms—are unavailable in Ukraine. According to the calculations by relevant scientific and research establishments of Ukraine, to create them would cost 62 billion to 100 billion dollars. While some of them could be created at the expense of many years of extraordinary, [word indistinct] efforts by the whole Ukrainian nation—involving enormous costs—carrying out nuclear tests on the territory of Ukraine is absolutely out of the question.

I will remind you, incidentally, that the creation of the United State's nuclear weapons cost more than 100 billion dollars, according to the prices of that time. The former USSR spent approximately 1 trillion rubles in

1950's prices on creating and developing nuclear weapons. Naturally, Ukraine's economy cannot bear such a burden today. Fifth, such an infrastructure is also necessary in order to keep those nuclear warheads that Ukraine inherited from the former USSR in a safe condition. Each of them has a guaranteed period of not more than 10-12 years, after which they are subject to dismantling and full reprocessing. The ecologically very dangerous [word indistinct] explosive devices that are utilized in modern nuclear warheads have an even shorter guarantee period.

Our military experts know that the prevailing majority of the warheads deployed on Ukraine's territory have already exhausted a considerable part of their shelf life. Russia has not been sending these components to Ukraine over the course of almost a year now, and there is not much hope for counting on this happening in the future. Even those enterprises that assembled the warheads will not undertake to dismantle them after the end of the guarantee period. That is extremely dangerous.

The problem of reliably rendering harmless—that is, to dismantle and reprocess ecologically safely—nuclear warheads will soon acquire an urgent nature. It is becoming impossible to simply leave the existing nuclear weapons in Ukraine like this.

Sixth, a separate problem is that of the 130 liquid fuel RS-18 missiles, and the 76 deployed in Ukraine [as heard]. It is well-known that the components of the fuel of these missiles—and heptyl, in particular—are very toxic and persistent [stiykyy]. They are similar to combat poisonous substances—chemical weapons—in this. The guarantee period for these missiles to be combat ready more or less safely will soon end.

These missiles are now already posing a real ecological threat to Ukraine, and this threat will continue to increase all the more. There is still no efficient technology, neutralization, and further utilization of heptyl. Under any conditions, however, we will need to resolve this problem in the near future. So, everyone is convinced that one will not have to count on some other nation helping a nuclear Ukraine on this issue. [as heard]

Seventh, a detailed analysis of the development of recent events around the subject of nuclear weapons in Ukraine shows that the reaction of other countries will be unequivocally and sharply negative if Ukraine departs from its policy of attaining a non-nuclear status in the future. A reduction in the volume of Ukraine's economic, financial, scientific, and technical relations with other states, a halt in economic and humanitarian assistance from the West, the application of various types of sanctions and restrictions—including the imposition of a trade embargo and even a blockade—can certainly be expected.

This is conditioned by the real interests of western states—the majority of which are resolutely against the increase under any conditions of the constant quantity of acknowledged nuclear states. The capability of western

states and the world community to undertake the most resolute measures is demonstrated, in particular, by the nature of sanctions adopted against Iraq and Yugoslavia. Although the situation regarding Ukraine will differ in essence, there is no doubt that in the West, and not only in the West, the attitude toward Ukraine's attempts to become a nuclear state will be resolutely negative.

Even if all-embracing sanctions are not used against Ukraine, we have been given to understand that access to any kind of cooperation and exchanges in the sphere of developed technologies will be barred to us. Delivery of nuclear fuel for Ukrainian nuclear electric power stations will end. All trade and financial preferences and advantages, which are natural for normal interstate relations, will be cancelled.

Next, on the basis of an all-embracing analysis, specialists have shown that the alternative to nuclear weapons, from the point of view of ensuring Ukraine's national safety, is a complex of measures, the implementation of which, under current conditions, will more efficiently and reliably guarantee Ukraine's national security in a broad and realistic sense.

There is the specific example of the former Soviet Union, which was the most powerful nuclear state in the world.

As you know, however, nuclear weapons did not keep it from falling apart. For Ukraine, normal friendly relations with all of its neighbors—the high priority of developing political, economic, and scientific-technical relations with the United States and other countries of the West; the creation of conditions for foreign investments; deep economic reforms on the principles of a market economy; further democratization of society; and, above all, our domestic political stability—all of these are the ingredients of guarantees of Ukraine's national security. They have become possible on the condition that Ukraine acquires the status of a state that does not possess nuclear weapons.

Ninth, esteemed people's deputies, we are now heading for ratification of START and joining the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. In this regard, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—under the instruction of the president of Ukraine—is doing intensive work to ensure that, before these documents become effective, Ukraine has: first, guarantees of its national security from nuclear states; second, obligations from the United States and other western countries regarding financial assistance with liquidation of nuclear weapons; third, fair compensation for nuclear components of the tactical warheads withdrawn from the territory of Ukraine, as well as of the strategic offensive weapons—if a decision is made to disassemble and to reprocess them at Russian enterprises; and, help in solving certain ecological problems.

As for security guarantees for Ukraine, it involves the adoption by nuclear states of a political legal document that would confirm their obligation regarding the unacceptability of any use of force on the part of nuclear

states. Naturally, such obligations by themselves do not guarantee Ukraine's security, but they will have an important political significance.

We have received preliminary texts of such guarantees from the United States, Great Britain, the Russian Federation, France, and China. They are in the form of unilateral political obligations of those states in relation to Ukraine. Consultations with the specified states on this subject continue. The issue of financial assistance to Ukraine in elimination of nuclear weapons is a subject of permanent negotiations, which have already been held with the United States during many months. Those issues are also touched upon at consultations with other western states. Some of them have expressed readiness to grant us real help altogether.

The United States is currently prepared to allocate 175 million dollars for these purposes, as well as to give 10 million dollars to create a scientific and technological center in Kiev. Naturally, that sum does not cover the whole expense. It far from covers the whole expense that Ukraine will suffer from the implementation of START. However, we believe that, with time, the expenses will be eliminated, both at the expense of additional allocations on the part of the United States and at the expense of other western countries involved in this. In any case, one can say that the understanding of those issues grows.

As for use of the nuclear components of the warheads deployed in Ukraine, we have managed to receive an assurance from the United States that it will not draw up contracts with Russia—in accordance with the agreements already signed by those states to the total amount of over 11 billion dollars—until Russia and Ukraine reach an agreement on fair compensation to Ukraine for those components. A whole number of measures to do with the elimination of strategic offensive weapons and, in particular, with the RS-18 liquid fuel rockets, are also to assist in solving the future ecological problems that Ukraine faces. I am talking about developing or getting from the United States and Great Britain a technology to utilize with regard to highly toxic substances, which can be used not only for liquidation of heptyl but also of various types of chemical waste and other toxic substances. Exchange of opinions on these issues has already taken place at various levels.

Tenth, in the course of the last few months, tense negotiations with Russia have been under way on a wide range of issues connected with nuclear weapons located on Ukraine's territory. Two rounds of these negotiations have been held already. They testify to the fact that, at the negotiations, the Russian side is setting the goal of forcing Ukraine to transfer strategic nuclear forces and, most of all, the strategic nuclear warheads deployed on its territory to Russian jurisdiction to the appropriate (?complete and) under the subordination of Russia's Defense Ministry.

Under these conditions, Russia is prepared to agree to the granting to Ukraine of certain compensations for nuclear weapon components that are being withdrawn from the territory of Ukraine to Russia for their dismantling and destruction. Regarding this, the Russian side is categorically refusing to discuss the issue of utilization of such materials from tactical warheads that were withdrawn from Ukraine in May of last year. At the negotiations, the Russian delegation is pursuing a policy of brutal pressure and is attaching the settlement of the issue of guaranteeing nuclear safety of strategic nuclear forces deployed in Ukraine to the recognition on Ukraine's part of the Russian Federation's right of ownership over all nuclear weapons located in Ukraine. We cannot agree to this, in so far as it concerns the issue of sovereignty and Ukraine's economic interests. At the same time, it is obvious that the absence of a final decision on the part of the Supreme Council as to Ukraine's non-nuclear status does not facilitate the course of these negotiations and is leading to a situation where we will remain without any assistance on the part of the international community.

Next, of course, the START negotiations were held without the participation of Ukraine, and the START Treaty does not entirely correspond with our interests. A statement by the Supreme Council of Ukraine in connection with ratifying the treaty could reflect Ukraine's positions.

The main aspect of the START treaty—which Ukraine is to ratify together with acceding to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in accordance with the Lisbon Protocol—is that quite a protracted term, seven years, is established by the agreement in order to achieve the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive weapons. There are no serious objections raised by anyone against this term, which was determined by a universally recognized international document to eliminate nuclear weapons deployed in Ukraine. There should be enough time to reinforce the statehood of Ukraine, to reform its economy, to establish and consolidate a civic society, and to incorporate Ukraine fully in a family of the world's civilized nations.

Esteemed people's deputies, the time has already come today to adopt a definitive attitude toward the issue of ratifying the START Treaty and acceding to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Harm to Ukraine's national interests, caused by further delaying the adoption of a relevant decision, is increasingly greater. Indeed, Ukraine's image as an unreliable participant in international communication and a militarily and excessively ambitious state has been created by the mass media in the past months—which has not been done without incitement by (?statesmen) from both our western partners and our close neighbors.

Accordingly, we are damaging our positive reputation as a stable state, while we deserve this reputation more than any one of the former USSR legal successor states. We are also losing time required for establishing and further developing political relations with the states that are (?effectively) interested in the existence of a strong, economically developed and independent Ukraine. It is exactly these relations of equal partnership in the field of security that can and must be a reliable foundation of Ukraine's external security.

The significance of the choice the Supreme Council is faced with is truly historic and will determine the future of Ukraine. We cannot afford to make a mistake, for we are hardly given any time to rectify it.

Thank you for your attention.

**Durdynets: Transfer of Tactical Nukes to Russia
'Mistake'**

*WS0406080693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1800 GMT
3 Jun 93*

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has begun discussing the START I and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaties [NPT], which have been submitted for ratification. Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko made a speech and said that Ukraine needs some \$62 to \$100 million for the creation of its own infrastructure for nuclear arms maintenance. Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Vasyl Durdynets underlined the necessity of multilateral negotiations for regulating mutual claims and preparing the basis for the ratification. Vasyl Durdynets pointed out that the transfer of tactical nuclear weapons from Ukraine to Russia was a mistake. During the discussion which was held behind closed doors, the deputies emphasized the importance of separate discussions of START I and the NPT.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Accepts Castro's Invitation To Visit Cuba

LD0306160493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1256 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Almaty, 3 Jun—Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev received Cuban Ambassador to Kazakhstan Rogelio Montenegro Guaspa today.

The ambassador has conveyed to the Kazakhstan leader Fidel Castro Ruz's personal message, with an invitation to come to Cuba on an official visit. The message was received with gratitude. Dates for the visit will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

In the course of the conversation, the state of and prospects for the development of bilateral trade and economic relations were discussed, and additional measures to implement existing agreements in this sphere were planned.

President Meets With German Economic Cooperation Minister

LD0306223293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1800 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Konstantin Borodinov for TASS]

[Text] Almaty, June 3 TASS—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev met a German delegation led by the German Minister for Economic Cooperation Karl-Dieter Spranger in Almaty on Thursday [3 June].

During the meeting it was pointed out that the visit to Germany by the Kazakh president last autumn had laid a reliable foundation for the establishment of mutually advantageous cooperation in the sphere of energy, the production of non-ferrous metals, development of chemical industry and machine-building.

It was pointed out that some of the reached agreements had been successfully implemented. New air routes between Almaty, Frankfurt-on-Main and Hanover were opened, a German bank was set up to encourage investments into the Kazakh economy and joint ventures are being established in Kazakhstan.

Nazarbayev pointed out that Kazakhstan was prepared to step up cooperation, saying that Kazakhstan was interested in promoting the realisation of major projects in the sphere of ecology, training of the personnel and social welfare of the population.

For his part, Spranger said that Germany is attaching priority importance to ecological and social problems and that it was able to render Kazakhstan highly-qualified assistance and provide consultations in this

sphere. The German minister willingly accepted Nazarbayev's proposal to fly to the zone of the Aral Sea to assess the size of the ecological damage in order to work out a joint programme of concrete measures.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Receives North Korean Ambassador

LD0306140893 Almaty Radio Almaty World Service in English 1800 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] Chairman of the Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet Serikbolsyn Abdildin recently received the Ambassador of the Korean People's Democratic Republic to Kazakhstan Pak Chae-pil on his request. Mr. Abdildin and the ambassador talked about the future official visit of the North Korean Parliamentary delegation to Kazakhstan and believed that the coming visit will help to further strengthen the trustful relations between the two States.

Leaders Urge Integration, Criticize Exchange Rate

MK0406100093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jun 93 p 3

[Sergey Kozlov report on press conference held by President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko in Karaganda; date not given: "Nursultan Nazarbayev: 'Dollar's Current Exchange Rate Is Nonsense Thought Up by Russian Bank'"]

[Text] Asked about the consequences of Kyrgyzstan's introduction of a national currency, President Nazarbayev said:

We have already been forced to effectively block our border now. That is to say, people come with bags of money, buy carloads of goods, and we have to confiscate all this when the cars return to Kyrgyzstan. Their border with Uzbekistan has been blocked, too. But negative experience is also experience. It will also prove useful for us.

[Question] In other words, Kazakhstan is still getting ready for something like this?

[Nazarbayev] What would we have been had we not prepared? I, personally, am ready for anything. Nonetheless I have been arguing for granting the ruble the status of a supranational currency. In this situation, the circulation of national currencies would be entirely painless and justifiable.

[Question] To all appearances, though, the dollar will still be there as an exchange equivalent?

[Nazarbayev] It is essential to make the ruble convertible. The current exchange rate of the dollar—and this is my firm conviction—is absolute nonsense thought up by the Russian bank...

Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko: "So far, everything is going downhill."

[Question] Mr. Prime Minister, after the talks held on the initiative of President Nazarbayev in Akmola and Karaganda, one gets the impression that Kazakhstan and Russia are, in a way, stepping out of line. Don't you have a similar feeling?

[Tereshchenko] Maybe somebody is indeed stepping out of line. But, I think, what we want is not to indulge politicians' ambitions, but to create a market economy and to achieve some improvement in people's lives. And where can it come from, if there is no metal, coal, electric power, food, and so forth? So far, everything is going downhill, shortages are everywhere. This is why our president—and he is known for his pragmatism—is perfectly aware of the need for integration. So, it is up to you to judge who is stepping out of line.

[Question] Negotiations and the signing of various papers have been going on for a fairly long time and everybody is rather tired of this. What about you?

[Tereshchenko] All this is bound to continue for some time to come, I assure you.

[Question] President Nazarbayev has repeatedly mentioned "different options." To all appearances, this should be understood as something ultimatum-like with regard to the CIS partners. When do you think the time for these "different options" will come?

[Tereshchenko] I cannot answer this question... Ultimatums? To whom? We have already seen this, and they are much more terrifying than the current "meetings and signings," because they mean an economic war. This war is bound to be followed by a deadly war. A war for land, for freedom, and for water. This had already taken place. All this started precisely when they turned to the language of ultimatums. This is why our president is keeping patient and trying to persuade everybody. He keeps saying—let us reach agreement.

[Question] What is your assessment of the Karaganda meeting?

[Tereshchenko] The very fact that they responded and came is already a good sign. The people still have an understanding that everything should be done jointly. In addition, some business talks were also conducted.

[Question] The president has often and sharply criticized the CIS, and at the same time he seems to be doing more than other leaders to preserve the Commonwealth. Don't you think that at present there is only one leader and that he alone could achieve unity within the CIS? Maybe it is time to say this openly and to do something if the Commonwealth is not to dissolve in a sea of agreements?

[Tereshchenko] I do not know... But all the time that I have been working here, since the Commonwealth has been in existence, it is Nazarbayev's initiatives that I consider the most important ones. And his basic idea is to reach agreement. His basic goal in the economy is not

to hinder the producers, not to erect barriers against them. People will see for themselves who is a real leader, and who is a sham.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Talks With German Economic Cooperation Minister

LD0206121993 Hamburg DPA in German 0844 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] Bishkek (DPA)—The Central Asian Republic of Kyrgyzstan hopes for further help from Bonn to aid its transition from a planned economy to a functioning market economy. Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev said during talks held today with Carl-Dieter Spranger, the Bonn minister for economic cooperation, that he would like more German credit to strengthen reform policies. After talks lasting several hours—first with the liberal Akayev and later with Prime Minister Tursunbek Chyn-gyshev—Spranger said that the Kyrgyz leaders hope this will act as a signal for private investors.

Until now, the private economy in the small, mountainous, Muslim country, which is predominantly agricultural, has not really developed—unlike in its huge neighbor, Kazakhstan.

Spranger told journalists that Germany will try to negotiate better repayment conditions for a loan from the European Community. The loan is for more than 30 million ECU [European Currency Unit]. The World Bank, Turkey, Japan and the IMF have also agreed to grant the developing country money. Germany is pledging Kyrgyzstan 8 million German marks [DM] toward technical cooperation, particularly for an exchange of experts.

The Bonn Ministry for Economic Cooperation has also made available for 1993 an additional DM 50 million in financial aid for the five Muslim Central Asia republics that were formerly part of the USSR. The sum is included in the supplementary budget for 1993, Spranger said. Kyrgyzstan hopes to spend this on spare parts for the agricultural sector, pesticides, sugar beet seeds, and other products. Bonn wants at least a third of the aid to be purchased in the former GDR. Spranger said that since German reunification in 1990, credit-financed deliveries worth over DM 300 million have been made to the 'Third World'.

Before his arrival in Bishkek, Spranger said that it is becoming increasingly difficult for Germany to demand that 'Third World' states respect human rights following the right-wing attacks in Moelln and Solingen.

Tomorrow, Spranger will travel to Kazakhstan for a several-day visit.

Fuel Shortage Prevents Visit by DPRK Official*LD0406065093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0425 GMT 4 Jun 93*

[Text] The planned visit by the chairman of the DPRK Supreme National Assembly to Kyrgyzstan will not take place, according to information from the IMMAPRESS agency. The reason is the fuel shortage in Kyrgyzstan. The speaker of the republic's parliament met with the ambassador of North Korea and requested that the visit by the high-ranking guest be postponed until a later date.

Danish Delegation Visits on Fact-Finding Tour*LD2705143493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1259 GMT 27 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev]

[Text] Bishkek May 27 TASS—A delegation of Denmark, led by Minister for Cooperation with Developing Countries Helle Degn, is now on a fact-finding tour of the Kyrgyz Republic. The delegation was received today by Kyrgyz Foreign Minister Ednan Karabayev. The agenda of the visit includes meetings with local public leaders and businessmen.

Commercial Trade 'Shrinking' Because of New Currency*LD0306085493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 3 Jun 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Commercial trade is shrinking in Kyrgyzstan. In the past two weeks the turnover of the big private shops has dropped by four-fifths. This is against all the laws of the local market, according to which summer always brings some revival. The traders themselves explain this by saying that it has become unprofitable to buy for rubles and sell for soms.

Turkmenistan**'Disagreements' Delay Signing of Agreements With Russia***LD0206194893 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Jun 93*

[Text] Russo-Turkmen talks on settling questions of mutual deliveries and payments are taking place in Ashgabat. The Russian delegation is headed by Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin.

It had been planned to complete the talks in the second half of the day, but the disagreements which have arisen in the sides' positions have delayed the signing of the documents. It is expected that the most important of them will be agreements on bilateral cooperation and on canceling mutual debts.

Niyazov Expresses 'Profound Satisfaction' With France Visit*LD2805173893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1522 GMT 28 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Kuleshov]

[Text] Paris, 28 May—Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov has expressed profound satisfaction with the results of his visit to France. At a press conference held here today, he said that in the course of his talks with the French officials there was stated a coincidence of views on many foreign policy issues where the Turkmen side upholds the principles of mutually advantageous cooperation, non-interference in internal affairs, and declaration of state independence. During the visit, agreements were signed on cooperation in aircraft construction with the Thomson company and on joint exploration and extracting of oil from deposits in the Caspian Sea with the Elf Aquitaine company.

Replying to reporters' questions, the leader of Turkmenistan emphasized the stable economic condition of his state, which made it possible for him to establish cooperation with foreign partners without any need for credits. We are now going through a change of forms of ownership and distribution of land. S. Niyazov said. It has been planned to introduce a national currency and complete the privatization of industry in the near future.

A draft plan for the construction of a gas pipeline to western Europe is almost ready. It will cross the territory of Iran and Turkey, with whom Turkmenistan has reached an agreement on this matter. Consumers will receive about 30,000 million cubic meters of gas per year through the pipeline. According to plans, it is to be brought into operation in three years time at the latest.

Talking about the future of the CIS, S. Niyazov said that, once the sovereignty of the states has been established, the attributes of independence should henceforth be protected, but at the same time attempts should be made not to break the existing ties but to try to maintain them on a new foundation, on the basis of voluntary choice and mutual advantage. However, the main role at the present stage should be played by bilateral agreements because this is the best way to meet fully the requirements of each side, the Turkmen head of state concluded.

Uzbekistan**Republic To Raise Pay Rates, Double Prices From 1 Jun***LD2905104493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 29 May 93*

[Text] In accordance with a decree by Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov, which was published today, a general raising of wages, pensions, and student stipends will begin in the republic from 1 June. For example, the

current pension will automatically be raised by 150 percent. Stipends will go up by the same amount. But it has to be said that inhabitants of the republic were not overjoyed with this decree, because prices for foodstuffs and other goods will simultaneously double. Despite the noticeable rise in prices, the Uzbekistan consumer basket remains one of the cheapest in the CIS.

Ruble Recognized as Sole Legal Tender

PM0406095593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jun 93
p 1

[Adilbek Kaipbergenov report: "Ruble Stays in Uzbekistan"]

[Text] The Uzbek parliament has passed a law on currency regulation. The very first article points out that the republic's monetary unit is the ruble. It is recognized as the only legal tender on Uzbek territory.

State of Emergency Declared in South Aral Region

PM0406105593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Shakhmutdin Zaynutdinov: "Emergency Situation in South Aral Region"]

[Text] Nukus—A state of emergency has been announced in the Southern part of the Aral region and the lower reaches of the Amu Darya.

This edict was adopted by U. Ashirbekov, chairman of the Republic of Karakalpakstan Supreme Soviet, in connection with the natural disaster which literally

descended from the skies over the course of May: First frost struck unexpectedly, then heavy rain fell almost continuously, to be replaced by squally winds. And that is how it has been throughout the past month.

The elements have washed away the cotton plantations and areas sown to vegetables and rice, flooded orchards and town houses, hurricanes have torn away the roofs of apartment blocks and production premises and brought down communications and electricity line pylons. Thus in Kungradskiy Rayon alone according to preliminary figures the damage is assessed at over 400 million rubles. There was no electricity here for 24 hours. They managed rapidly to restore it and to embark on other repair work.

Crops and fruit trees have shriveled in the frost and in many places they have been submerged and covered in a thick layer of scab. The situation is the same in Leninskobadskiy, Nukusskiy, Shumanayskiy, and other regions.

A republican headquarters has been created to eliminate the consequences of the natural disaster. All additional resources from state reserves have been mobilized—equipment, fertilizers, fuel, and construction materials. But fuel and spare parts for agricultural equipment are lacking most of all. Aid in this case is expected from the "center"—Tashkent. But things are no easier there: After all the spring downpour and torrents attacked housing and agricultural land in the Fergana valley and Kashkadarya Oblast... Everyone needs help.

In this complex situation the humanitarian aid freight which has arrived in Nukus from Thailand is very useful. According to reports from the republican headquarters aid from the Central Asian region's neighboring republics is expected in the very near future.

Armenia**Ter-Petrosyan Holds Talks With U.S. Envoy on Karabakh***LD0106202593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1922 GMT 1 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan June 1 TASS—The ways of the political settlement of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh were in the center of the talks between John Maresca, U.S. representative in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), ambassador at large, who made a short-time visit to Yerevan, and President Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia.

According to the press service of the Armenian president, the two sides paid the main attention to searching the ways of ceasing fire and ensuring the efficient activities of international observers and representatives in the region of the conflict. Both sides proceeded from the provisions of resolution No. 822 of the U.N. Security Council and the joint initiative by Russia, the United States, Turkey and the Minsk group of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe on Karabakh, the president's press service pointed out.

It was noted that at present the situation in the region was favorable for achieving positive advances towards the settlement of the conflict.

Today the American diplomat left for Baku where he will meet with President Abulfaz Elchibey of Azerbaijan. It was announced that later the U.N. ambassador will go to Rome to take part in a meeting of representatives of the countries—members of the Minsk group of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

President Meets With U.S. Official on Aid*NC0406031393 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 3 Jun 93*

[Text] President Levon Ter-Petrosyan today received Thomas Simons, U.S. State Department coordinator on aid to the CIS, and those accompanying him.

They held businesslike talks on assistance provided by the U.S. Government to Armenia, which alleviated to some extent the people's suffering last winter. The U.S. side assured the president that this assistance will continue next winter as well.

Ter-Petrosyan stressed that the present socioeconomic difficulties besetting Armenia primarily are due to the Karabakh conflict. These difficulties can be overcome only after stability is established in the region. The international community should display a serious and resolute position so a peaceful settlement can be achieved. Unfortunately, the Armenian president emphasized, international efforts thus far have produced no tangible results.

Deputy: Relations With Russia 'Developing Positively'*LD0406080193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0704 GMT 4 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan June 4 TASS—Seiran Bagdasaryan, member of the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet has told ITAR-TASS that relations between Armenia and Russia are developing positively.

He noted that parliamentarians from both countries are working on increasing traditional Russo-Armenian ties, thus giving them a new dimension.

Bagdasaryan highly appraised the results of the conference which took place in Moscow a few days ago, devoted to the prospects for development and regional aspects of relations between Russia and Armenia.

Government Delegation Ends Visit to UK, Signs Agreements*LD0106202893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1946 GMT 1 Jun 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Pakhomov]

[Text] London June 1 TASS—The official visit to Britain of the Armenian governmental delegation led by Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan came to an end on Tuesday [1 June].

The delegation arrived in London at the joint invitation of the British Government and the leadership of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and was received by British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State Douglas Hogg, other British officials, representatives of the IBRD and the British business community.

The parties signed four documents during the visit: an intergovernmental agreement on protection and encouragement of investments, an agreement on freedom of movement of the diplomats, a joint declaration on economic cooperation and a declaration of the two Foreign Ministries on the principles of the bilateral relations.

Armenian Foreign Minister Vagan Papazyan, a member of the delegation, told a press conference here on Tuesday that the two parties exchanged views on further development of the bilateral relations, on the situation in the region and Armenia's policies in Nagorno-Karabakh.

"We are satisfied with the results of the talks," he emphasized.

In reply to a question, he noted that the three-partite initiative of Russia, the USA and Turkey on settling the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict "gives rise to certain hopes on reaching a cease-fire".

Armenia accepted the three-partite initiative in the main and believed it was a step forward, he said.

Papazyan remarked, however, that support on the part of peace-keeping forces under an international mandate might be needed to secure the fulfilment of a cease-fire.

According to him, 70 to 80 per cent of the unit with a total strength of 2,500 to 3,000 servicemen could be made up of the Russian troops.

Israeli Foreign Ministry Delegation Visits

*NC0306190493 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First
Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 3 Jun 93*

[Text] A meeting was held today at the Armenian Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Foreign Relations with an Israeli Foreign Ministry delegation which arrived in Armenia on an official visit. Isak Arshun, head of the Foreign Ministry department for international cooperation and [name indistinct], deputy head of the Foreign Ministry department on Caucasus and Central Asia, were part of the delegation.

During an examination of regional and bilateral issues, it was particularly noted that Armenian-Israeli relations have been slow to develop, but this is not due to political difficulties.

Those at the meeting were of the opinion that in establishing direct interstate ties particular attention should be paid to the development of interparliamentary relations.

Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Arrives in Yerevan

*NC0306184893 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First
Program Network in Armenian 1300 GMT 3 Jun 93*

[Report by Lida Gazaryan]

[Excerpts] [Gazaryan] The Deputy Foreign Minister of Greece Viryinia Tsoudherou arrived in Yerevan this morning. She was accompanied by Greek Ambassador to Russia Konstandinos Limberopoulos, and a number of embassy officials.

The guests were welcomed at Zvartnots Airport by First Deputy Foreign Minister of Armenia Zhirair Liparityan, and representatives of the Greek community in Armenia.

The official talks opened at the Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Foreign Relations. The delegation was then received by the chairman of parliament, Babken Ararktsyan.

Later, I asked Viryinia Tsoudherou to comment on the meeting:

[Viryinia Tsoudherou in Greek fading into superimposed Armenian translation] We are aiming at developing relations with Armenia and the countries of the

region. We are hoping that having our embassy here will play an effective role in the relations between our two countries and peoples, and will help in the speedy development of ties.

This is my first visit to Armenia, but I have sufficient information about your country, people and problems.

[Gazaryan] The chairman of parliament Babken Ararktsyan made a statement at the request of Greek television reporters. [passage omitted]

The Greek delegation will hold talks at the Foreign Ministry today, meet with representatives of the Greek community organization at the Armenia Fund, and attend an evening concert marking the 90th anniversary of the birth of [composer] Aram Khachaturyan.

The delegation will leave for Baku tomorrow.

Azerbaijan

Troops Deployed in Baku; Former Minister Cancels Rally

*NC0306143093 Baku AZERTAC in Azeri 1110 GMT
3 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku, 3 Jun (AZERTAC)—Powerful military patrols and military hardware have been deployed in the streets of the Azerbaijani capital since 0600 this morning.

State Secretary Ali Kerimov said that this is connected with the enforcement of the second stage of the state of emergency. As is known, the Azerbaijani National Assembly (parliament) extended the duration of the state of emergency for another two months.

According to other appropriately authoritative sources, the deployment of the additional military units in the streets of the republic's capital is a result of the exacerbation of the situation in the city. The reason for the aggravated situation is that Iskender Khamidov, the former interior minister and one of the leaders of the Azerbaijani People's Front [APF], had called for a protest demonstration on 5 June against the Azerbaijani leadership's cadre policy.

However, the former minister has changed his mind. He told this to the APF executive committee session yesterday evening. The state secretary confirmed this fact and said that holding mass activities during the state of emergency is banned and the government organs have the right to call for strict observance of the laws.

Mamedov Expresses Concern

*NC0306145093 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1150
GMT 3 Jun 93*

[Text] Baku 03.06.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Azerbaijan military units ordered to take all the strategic facilities and allowed to launch fire at the night of June 5, said

opposition leader chairman of the national independence party of Azerbaijan, MP [People's Deputy] Etibar Mamedov at the MM [National Assembly] session. He expressed deep concern over these measures taken by the authorities which, in his opinion, are aimed against the political parties of the Republic. He demanded that this issue be specified in the military offices and the MPs be informed of it, reported ASSA-IRADA parliamentary correspondent. E. Mamedov also moved a proposal to revise the state of emergency extension decision violating, in his vision, the Constitution but it failed to gain support of the MPs.

Official Asks About Russian Mercenaries in Armenia

MK0306115493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jun 93 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric]

[Text] "The Russian Government should unequivocally determine the status of its citizens taking part in the Armenian-Azeri conflict," stated Azerbaijan's State Secretary Ali Kerimov in an interview for a KHABAR SERVICE news agency correspondent.

"In demanding from the Russian Federation leadership that they determine the status of the six Russian servicemen convicted by the Azerbaijan court," the state secretary went on, "the republic pursues one object: To find out how much longer soldiers of Russia are going to fight on the side of the Armenian armed forces." Ali Kerimov stressed that Baku officials are inclined to examine the issue of these Armenian mercenaries in the general context of participation of Russian servicemen in the Armenian-Azeri conflict.

According to the state secretary, certain circles in Russia, misrepresenting the real state of things, delude people and deliberately form anti-Azerbaijan sentiment.

Ali Kerimov said that representatives of the Russian Federation parliament's ad hoc commission, who arrived in Baku on 31 May, will, together with the Milli Majlis members, look into the situation connected with the participation of Russia's soldiers in the Armenian-Azeri conflict. They are to ascertain whether this fact relates to mercenaries, or it should be categorized as a deliberate aggressive action against Azerbaijan. "The Russian Government should unequivocally decide on the status of its citizens who are taking part in this undeclared war, and to take resolute measures to stem the flood of its servicemen into the Armenian Army," A. Kerimov observed in conclusion.

Baku Wants Russian Troops Out of Karabakh Conflict

MK0406093093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jun 93 p 1

[Aydin Mekhtiyev report: "Five Russians Wait To Be Shot. Moscow Should Give Guarantees of Its Troops' Noninvolvement in Karabakh Conflict"]

[Excerpts] According to an Azerbaijan Milli Majlis press service report, talks were held recently in Baku between Azeri lawmakers and a visiting Russian parliamentary delegation led by Anatoliy Anikeyev, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Nationalities of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. Russia's deputies met with chiefs of a number of parliamentary committees and commissions and with other Azerbaijan officials. [passage omitted]

The keen public attention in both neighboring countries to the fate of the five Russian soldiers is explained by the fact that the issue has assumed political significance. To be sure, the Azeri side does not state openly that it is necessary to carry out the sentence, but officials in Baku are making broad hints to the Russian side: The appeal for a pardon could be complied with only if Moscow provides guarantees that Russian servicemen will not back Armenia in the Karabakh conflict. As for Russia, it is disinclined to become bound by this sort of obligation. As is generally known, stationed in Armenia is the Russian Seventh Army, which is supposed to secure Armenia's territorial integrity under the collective security treaty. Considering the fact that following the occupation of Kelbadzhar and Lachin, the borders of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh have in fact become eroded, the question of ensuring the security of Armenia's borders lends itself to broad interpretation, and, therefore, should there be another escalation of fighting, participation of Russian servicemen on the side of Armenian troops would become a real possibility: They would find it hard to draw a line between the National Army of Armenia, and the so-called "self-defense forces of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic." Which is why the Azeri side insists that a joint Russian-Azeri commission be set up to explore all instances where Russian servicemen took part in the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Kamberov Receives Khasbulatov Letter on Russian Troops

NC0306145393 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 2 Jun 93

["Text" of Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov's letter to Supreme Soviet Chairman Isa Yunis Oglu Kamberov; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed Isa Yunis oglu, I wish to thank you for your detailed and practical letter on the main problems in Russian-Azerbaijani relations. Leading officials of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet have considered and studied the problems noted in your letter. The

parliament's commissions and committees will carefully consider and debate the issue and adopt concrete and comprehensive decisions.

Russia's parliament clearly supports the cessation of military operations between Armenia and Azerbaijan and the settlement of all the accumulated problems through [words indistinct]. Furthermore, it upholds the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and the policy of respecting and recognizing their territorial integrity and the non-violation of their borders.

We are aware of the Azerbaijani leaders and people's anxiety and distress concerning the Russian Armed Forces' approach toward the armed dispute in the region. I wish to inform you that the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet committees have been officially instructed to cooperate with law enforcement organs to establish, in light of the existing situation, whether the six Russian servicemen [six names and titles indistinct], who have been tried by the Azerbaijan Supreme Court's military collegium, still represent the staff of the Russian Armed Forces or are deserters who have participated in military operations as mercenaries. Furthermore, a study will be carried out to establish the causes of this and other similar incidents.

I wish to assure you that effective measures will be taken shortly to prevent similar incidents. Russia will seriously punish those who encourage military servicemen to get involved in criminal activities.

I take this opportunity to express hope that the decision on the fate of the former Russian military servicemen will be considered from the point of view of humanitarian principles and that they will be shown mercy. I am convinced that a visit by an Azerbaijan National Assembly delegation to Moscow to discuss and resolve all the problems between the two countries is essential.

Esteemed Isa Yunis oglu, I wish you sound health and success for your sincere effort to further strengthen the friendship and mutual agreements between our countries.

[Signed] Ruslan Khasbulatov

Georgia

Government Wants Earliest Russian Troop Withdrawal

LD0306202193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1700 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By Georgian News Agency correspondents for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi June 3 TASS—The Georgian parliament has adopted a resolution demanding that the Russian troops deployed on Georgian territory be withdrawn as soon as possible.

The resolution instructs the Georgian Defence Ministry to take over the weapons and ammunition of the Russian troops, which the Georgian parliament proclaimed nationalized by its decision of November 25, 1991, as well as the military bases occupied by the Russian troops not later than in the first quarter of 1994.

The resolution stipulates that if Russia and Georgia sign an agreement on the pullout in keeping with an agreed timetable, the handover may take place at a later date but not later than 1995.

Conflict in Abkhazia Worsens as Russian Troops Withdraw

MK0306120693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jun 93 p 3

[Guga Lolishvili report under "Georgia" rubric: "Russian Troops Getting Ready To Go. Truce in Abkhazia Seems To Have Ended"]

[Text] "The adopted decision does not mean confrontation with Russia and does not entail any standoff," Vakhtang Goguadze, Georgian parliament speaker, said, commenting on yet another decree on the withdrawal of Russian troops from the republic's territory passed by the Georgian parliament on 31 May, in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent.

At present the overall number of Russian troops on Georgia's territory is approximately 6,000. This figure was cited to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent by General Aleksandr Gerasimov, lieutenant commander of the Russian Army group in the Transcaucasus, on 1 June. Recently a schedule for the pullout of Russian military units from Georgian territory within the next few months, prepared by the Russian Army group headquarters, was presented to the Georgian leadership. Under this document, the withdrawal of Russian troops from Kutaisi is planned to be completed before 1 July. In Tbilisi there are virtually no troops left. The withdrawal of the Akhalkalaki division stationed in south Georgia also continues. Up to now Russian troops have been located in the Adzhar autonomous republic. The Batumi motorized rifle division is based here. There are Russian military units also in South Ossetia. As for the Russian Army group in Abkhazia, which has become a source of the greatest tensions, these units are not subordinated to the command of the Russian Army group in the Transcaucasus, but receive orders directly from the Russian Federation Defense Ministry.

As Georgian Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili said in his latest interview, he is going to insist that the weapons and military equipment of the Russian troops leaving Georgia's territory remain in the republic. "They must leave only with their service small arms," the minister stated. In that interview Karkarashvili said that the Russian troops are located in the most explosive regions of the republic and any provocation on the part of the military or any provocation directed against them can blow up the situation. According to Karkarashvili,

recently he gave a letter to the Russian troop command warning about an impending attack against the Russian 147th Division in Akhalkalaki with the aim to seize weapons. Karkarashvili stated that under the pretext of attacks on Russian army installations, weapons are often sold [as published]. The minister recalled a case that happened last 15 August when a commando brigade in Bomboro "gave away or sold automatic rifles to Abkhaz residents under cover of an assault." [as published]

Touching on the situation in Abkhazia, the defense minister said that there was only one brigade of Georgian armed forces in the autonomous republic manned by local residents.

According to reports from Georgian and Abkhaz sources, the situation in the zone of conflict has become aggravated again. In fact both sides have recognized that on 31 May hostilities resumed in the conflict area. Each side, naturally, blames the other for breaking the ceasefire.

Shevardnadze Satisfied With Results of China Visit

LD0306204993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1918 GMT 3 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Grigory Arslanov and Pavel Spirin]

[Text] Beijing June 3 TASS—Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze expressed satisfaction with the practical results of his visit to China.

During his visit he met Chairman of the State Council Jiang Zemin and other high-ranking Chinese officials. The two parties signed 20 documents on cooperation, he told a news conference on Thursday [3 June].

The Chinese party paid a special interest to "the new Eurasian corridor" which should pass through the Caucasus and link China, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine, said Shevardnadze, who came out with the project.

New railway tracks and highways, oil and gas pipe lines could be built along the "corridor", he said. Besides, tourist business would thrive in the area.

"The creation of such a "corridor" would not only encourage economic cooperation within the continent, but also have a stabilizing effect on the Caucasian situation," he emphasized.

Asked by ITAR-TASS, Shevardnadze said that at the talks with the Chinese leadership the two parties discussed the situation in the Caucasus in broad outline. The two parties expressed hope that Russia would play a positive role in settling the conflicts in the area.

Defense Minister on 'Stolen' Navy, Talks With Grachev

MK0406094093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 4 Jun 93 p 3

[Guga Lolishvili report: "Fleet Gets Stolen"]

[Text] Georgian Defense Minister General Georgiy Karkarashvili, 26, has stated in his latest interview that Georgia would insist on observing the quotas in making available to the republic some vessels of the Black Sea Fleet. "At the moment, we do not have ships and submarines. Our fleet, which was stationed in Poti, and which, in accordance with state documentation should have been left there, has simply been stolen," Karkarashvili declared.

The defense minister added his hope that when he meets with Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, they will manage to settle this problem. Karkarashvili stated that he would insist that Russian troops leaving Georgia should carry only authorized firearms. As for standard-issue [shtatnaya] equipment and armaments, they all should remain in Georgia.

As regards Georgia's armed forces that are being formed, Karkarashvili stated that the Russian army—powerful and well-disciplined—should be adopted as a model. In other parameters, the Georgian army will resemble that of Israel.

Estonia

Parliament Adopts Legislation on Foreign Relations

WS0306131293 Tallinn BNS in English 1029 GMT
3 June 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 03, BNS—The Estonian parliament with 54 votes Wednesday [2 June] passed the law on foreign relations and contacts with foreign countries and international bodies.

The law, among other matters, establishes the rights of the president, the parliament, the government and the foreign ministry in foreign affairs, sets regulations for the process of concluding agreements.

The newly passed law says the president represents Estonia as the head of state at international level, appoints at the government's suggestion Estonia's representatives to other countries and international bodies. The bill, submitted by the government, had also stipulated that the president would coordinate his steps with the government. This, however, has been omitted in the wording as passed by the legislative body.

The coordination requirement was omitted at a suggestion by the ruling coalition's Moderate faction, Vello Saatpalu, the head of the parliamentary foreign affairs commission told BNS. "I think that the political culture in Estonia will develop and coordination (between different bodies of state power) will take place. There is no reason to write this down in a law," he added.

"In many developed countries such legislation doesn't exist; everything there is based on long-established traditions. But we are having a young democracy and therefore a more strict regulation is needed," Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste said in his comments in March when the bill was submitted by the government.

The law takes into account both the generally accepted international practices as well as the Vienna conventions regulating the diplomatic procedures.

Sweden To Give High-Tech Equipment

PM0106165693 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 19 May 93 p A7

[Kaa Eneberg report: "No Arms for the Baltic Region"]

[Text] Tallinn—The row over arms between Sweden and Estonia now seems to have laid to rest. As long as the Russians remain, Sweden can go so far as to give aid in the form of high-tech equipment. When stability has been achieved the Balts will be free also to acquire Swedish arms.

That was the message delivered by visiting Defense Minister Anders Bjorck (Moderate Coalition Party) when he left Estonia yesterday after his first official visit to the Baltic region. His host, Swedish Estonian Hain

Rebas, who has expressly asked for discarded Swedish rifles, voiced his satisfaction with the prospect held out during the visit of sophisticated surveillance equipment for the whole Baltic region.

Hain Rebas also said that he believes in the possibility of cooperation between the Baltic states in maintaining surveillance over their own territories. He said that the Baltic defense ministers already have ongoing cooperation.

Anders Bjorck was eager to tell the large press presence that the surveillance equipment is not discarded equipment. It is a very sophisticated surveillance system, a so-called early warning system, he said.

The preliminary study for the system is being carried out by FOA [Swedish National Defense Research Institute] and will be completed by September and the equipment could be in operation within two years, provided the Foreign Ministry releases the money, from the so-called sovereignty support fund. Anders Bjorck said that what is involved is equipment "which has not even been manufactured yet."

The two defense ministers appeared to be in full harmony when they met the press at the government chancellery on Toompea hill. Anders Bjorck was generously hailed as a great friend of Estonia and the Baltic region. He reminded his audience how in Tallinn two years ago in his capacity as president of the Council of Europe he received the Estonians' application for membership of the council. The dream of membership was realized as recently as last Friday.

Anders Bjorck had had a hurried round of talks on the question of defense materiel with the Estonians in the morning—with everyone from President Lennart Meri to the newly appointed supreme commander, U.S. Colonel Alexander Einseln.

His talks with President Lennart Meri took longer than expected because the president had made inflammatory remarks about the restrictive Swedish and Nordic stance on the arms issue.

However, after the talks in the Kadriorg presidential palace Lennart Meri told a group of Swedish journalists that he did not want to say a word about the arms row. It had, however, been discussed.

Anders Bjorck made every effort to explain to the press that there was no row. It is simply a case of a discussion with different time frames, he said. Today Sweden is unable to give the Balts arms. The line is drawn at the package Anders Bjorck had put together before his departure—equipment, leadership training for officers, international training of officers with the future aim of involvement in UN service, two coastal surveillance vessels, and large quantities of decommissioned materiel.

"But this is definitely not the end," Anders Bjorck said. He added that he only views the new aid package as the

foundation stone for the Balts' efforts to achieve "complete control over their airspace," that is, their land borders, waters, and airspace.

He also said that when it is considered that political stability prevails, the Balts and the Estonians will form a natural part of the Nordic community.

Anders Bjorck will also visit Lithuania later this month.

Last Russian Border Guard Leaves Country

WS0406085293 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1726 GMT 3 June 93

[Text] Tallinn, June 3—Last Russian border guard left Estonia on Thursday [4 June] and all border guard stations are now controlled by the Estonian National Border Defence Board, the deputy director of the Board, Henn Karits, told ETA.

The last Russian border guard object, a border defence garrison at Rahumae, Tallinn, was turned over to Estonia on Thursday and its head, Colonel Renat Gimodeyev, was the last Russian border guard to leave the country, Karits said.

Lithuania

Brazauskas on Measures To Speed Economic Recovery

WS0206130793 Tallinn BNS in English 1200 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Vilnius, June 01, BNS—President Algirdas Brazauskas of Lithuania said in a radio interview Monday [31 May] that the industrial output has been increasing monthly and that an increasing number of factories handle supplies and sales on their own.

Brazauskas thinks that the economic recovery could be speeded up by signing free trade agreements with Russia and other CIS member nations because the 30 percent tax levied on all products imported into Lithuania from those countries results in a noticeable increase of the prices.

He also said that he had signed Monday a decree whereby he sent back to the legislature for reconsidering the amendments in the taxation of individuals. The amendments provided for a 10 percent tax to be imposed on dividends obtained from the shares that the population had obtained in the course of the privatization campaign. Brazauskas described that taxation as "inadmissible."

The head of state simultaneously asked parliament to reconsider the principles of imposing income taxes so that the maximal tax, 33 percent, be levied only on those whose wages were higher than the country's average.

Minister Proposes Economic Policy Innovations

WS2805095993 Vilnius LIETUVOS AIDAS in Lithuanian 8 May 93 No. 87 p 4

[Interview with Economy Minister Julius Veselka by newspaper correspondent Anicetas Sungaila; place and date not given: "Economy Minister on the Economy"]

[Text] Julius Veselka is talking to Anicetas Sungaila about the proposals to the government on how to improve the Lithuanian economy.

[Veselka] Our main mistake was that we supported only small and medium-sized business. I would like to see large concerns and corporations emerging in Lithuania which would perform similar to state enterprises. I am not against small business, but it is the large concerns that will make Lithuania famous throughout the world. Monopoly cannot be measured in terms of the size of the Lithuanian market. Large and free markets are very important for small states. This is the essential thing. We should advocate at world forums that Lithuania favors a common market, and that it is not some poor beggar, but a state capable of managing its economy independently. We should demonstrate that our country is not isolated or ailing with nationalism, although some people in the East and in the West see us in this manner. If it does not infringe on our independence, we should expand cooperation with all countries.

The Seimas should demand that the Central Bank present a program on strengthening the national currency. There can be no market, if the policy of the Central Bank is unsuccessful. The key function of the central bank is to make the national monetary unit stable and convertible. All previous governments had made a mistake by not turning the state capital into stock. A state is only a stockholder that receives its dividends. It participates in the process of privatization on equal rights with any other stockholder.

Brains and skills are the most valued commodities in the world. That is why we should review our priorities. I do not believe that Lithuania cannot produce better television sets or refrigerators than Japan.

Presently, we observe the come-what-may psychology. We are concerned about how to collect taxes and help the needy.

We need forecasts and an active cooperation between the state and economic units. The best example is Japan. Businessmen always achieve better results that the state predicts.

[Sungaila] We intimidate people with the need to introduce property taxes.

[Veselka] Our people have built a lot of castles, and I do not envy them. However, if the United States and other rich countries may collect taxes on assets, we should understand that we must do the same. Having become rich, an individual must think about increasing his

wealth. If he is unable to do this, he should sell part of his property and become poorer. Each small trader must have a license to operate and may do whatever he likes. Those who do not want to act in a civilized manner must be punished, not only through the confiscation of their wealth.

[Sungaila] You look to the East more often than to the West. Why?

[Veselka] Russia is also moving toward the market. I cannot remain quiet when I see how other countries are capable of exploiting its natural resources and raw materials. Russia's democratic evolution will promote the economic development of other countries.

[Sungaila] We are moving toward the market. However, there seems to be no end to this.

[Veselka] I do see this end. The current situation is very difficult, but you should notice how the market frees and strengthens enterprise.

Slezevicius Favors Continuation of Talks With Russia

LD0206172493 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] Speaking on national television on 1 June, Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius spoke in favor of continuation of the dialogue with the government of Russia.

He said that he had prepared a letter to Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Government, with a proposal to organize another meeting for continuation of the dialogue on the agreement concluded at the meeting in St. Petersburg two months ago.

According to Adolfas Slezevicius, bureaucratic structures in Russia are making efforts in order to drag out the implementation of the agreement concluded at summit level.

Gas Deliveries From Russia To Be Suspended 1 Jun

LD3105205053 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 31 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The NeGa agency reports: Lentransgaz [Russian gas company] is going to suspend gas deliveries to Lithuania from 1 June. The reason for this is Lithuania's sky-rocketing debt of \$48 million.

Defense Ministry To Create Special Guard Units

WS0206080793 Vilnius ELTA in Lithuanian 1203 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] The Defense Ministry will organize special units for protecting certain facilities on a contract basis. These

units will guard the Ignalina nuclear power station, airports, oil refineries, drug storehouses, and certain bridges.

Sweden's Defense Minister on Creating 'Common Security System'

WS2705074293 Tallinn BNS in English 0700 GMT 25 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 24, BNS—The Defense Minister of Sweden Anders Bjork has arrived on a short visit to Vilnius.

At a meeting with the Lithuanian Territorial Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius sides discussed the creation of a common security system for the Baltic states that would make it possible to effectively control the aerospace and the territorial waters of the countries. Bjork said that his government may give real assistance in implementing the project.

On Monday Sweden's Defense Minister also met with Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas and Premier Adolfas Slezevicius.

Offers Military Equipment

PM0206122093 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 25 May 93 p 9

[Mikael Holmstrom report: "Lithuania To Be Given Military Equipment"]

[Text] Vilnius—During his visit to Vilnius Defense Minister Anders Bjork yesterday made the same offer to the Lithuanians as to the Latvians and Estonians.

President Brazauskas in particular was keen that the Swedes should not favor Estonia in their military aid.

"The president stressed that we have a tendency to forget Lithuania while remembering Estonia and Latvia," Anders Bjork said after his meeting with President Algirdas Mykolas Brazauskas.

"I explained to him that this is not that strange bearing in mind the large Estonian minority in Sweden and our historic ties. But I stressed that the Swedish Government's approach is to have exactly the same type of relations with all three countries; we favor no one and we are not unfair to anyone."

Lithuania will receive the same package of surplus material as Estonia and Latvia (already reported by SVENSKA DAGBLADET), but with the difference that the Lithuanians will be given 10,000 complete uniforms, but no more coastal surveillance vessels.

Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius was most pleased with the joint surveillance system which Sweden is offering to build and give to the Balts.

"It will be a common standard for all three states. It is not only important to the surveillance of our borders, but

also to the cooperation between the three sovereign states," said Audrius Butkevicius, who despite his mere 33 years has been apolitical defense minister in six Lithuanian governments.

France has already carried out a study for such a surveillance system, and only three rooms away from the defense minister a French officer has an office as an advisor. His job is to look at what the Lithuanians need, but he is bound also to be keeping the door open for the crisis-hit French defense industry.

Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius said diplomatically that arms are not what Lithuania needs at present, but hinted that Sweden has a geostrategic advantage over other countries offering or wanting to sell military materiel.

"Among the Western countries you are a very close neighbor," Audrius Butkevicius said.

In Riga and Tallinn Bjorck's hosts seized every opportunity to give the working visits a higher official status through guards of honor and troop inspections at the airport, national anthems, and joint press conferences.

Here in Vilnius the Lithuanians made do with allowing the ministers to take a quick walk in front of a guard of honor. This reflects the more relaxed relations between Lithuania and the former Soviet occupying forces.

The Russian withdrawal is following a joint timetable and will have been completed by 31 August this year.

Parliamentarian's U.S. Citizenship Verified

*WS0206130693 Tallinn BNS in English 1200 GMT
1 Jun 93*

[Text] Vilnius, June 01, BNS—Povilas Gylys, Lithuanian foreign minister, informed that MP Kazys Bobelis is a citizen of the United States.

This was an official reply to an inquiry of the parliament's rightist opposition.

The minister bases his answer on a note from the U.S. Embassy in Vilnius, received May 17, which confirms that the MP is still a citizen of the United States.

Article 56 of the Lithuanian Constitution says that only a Lithuanian citizen who is not under an oath or any other obligation to a foreign state can be elected to the parliament.

Bobelis, a well-known activist of Lithuanian emigres in the United States, currently chairman of the parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, is an active opponent of the rightist minority in the parliament. The MP himself stated several times earlier that he no longer considers himself a citizen of the United States.

The opposition suggests several solutions to the problem: to urge Bobelis to renounce his deputy mandate, to appeal to the Constitutional Court or to propose a respective draft resolution of the parliament.

As reported, the rightist political organization Sajudis May 26 appealed to the president, the Supreme Court and the Chief Election Commission to suspend Bobelis' deputy authorizations.